

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

illustrated with

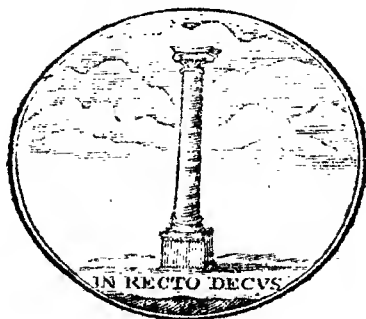
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*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξερχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἑυρήσεις ἀκόπως
ἅπερ ἔτιζαι συνῆξαι ἐγκόπως.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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MDCCCLXXX.

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C H A P. LXXII.

The History of the Carthaginians, to the Destruction of Carthage by the Romans.

S E C T. VIII.

The History of the Carthaginians, from the Taking of Capua by Hannibal, to the Destruction of Carthage by Æmilianus.

HANNIBAL had no sooner possessed himself of Capua, than he attempted to make himself master of Neapolis. But the Neapolitans being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to Nola, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate were wholly in the Roman interest; but the Carthaginians being masters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was entirely at Hannibal's devotion. The former, therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a disposition to surrender the city to Hannibal; but at the same time insinuated, that before this could be done, it would be proper to come to some terms of agreement with that general. By entering into a negotiation with the Carthaginian, the senate

The transactions in Italy immediately after the battle of Cannæ.

nate gained time to dispatch an express to Marcellus, the Roman prætor, who informed him of the absolute necessity of marching instantly to their relief. Marcellus, leaving Casilinum, where he was then posted, advanced to Calabria; and, having passed the Vulturinus, moved with surprising celerity, through the districts of Satricula and Trebia, in order to succour Nola. Hannibal retired upon his approach, and made a fresh attempt upon Neapolis, but without effect. Afterwards he laid siege to Nuceria, and starved it to a surrender. Then he again approached Nola, and encamped before it: but the town was secured by L. Bantius, whom the Romans had gained to their interest by a present of a fine horse, and five hundred bigati (A). Hannibal laid Acefra in ashes, the inhabitants abandoning it upon his approach. From thence he moved to Casilinum, which he ordered to be attacked by a body of Gætulians, under the command of their captain Ilalca: but they being repulsed, as well as a large Carthaginian detachment, headed by Maberbal, Hannibal was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. After this disposition, he left a small body of troops to guard his lines, and put his army into winter-quarters at Capua^a.

The pleasures of Capua prejudicial to Hannibal.

Here it was, according to Livy, that those soldiers, who had long been inured to the greatest fatigues, and braved the most formidable dangers, were vanquished by luxury, and a succession of pleasures, with which the minds of the Capuans, who were immersed in a profusion of the most charming delights, had long been corrupted: but the frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the Romans, the several towns he reduced in sight of the Roman armies, the bravery with which he maintained himself in Italy for fourteen years after this event, in spite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of such a supposition. Livy himself points out a cause of the declension of the Carthaginian affairs in Italy, different from the delights of Capua^b.

We have before observed, that the senate and people of Carthage ordered four thousand Numidian horse, forty ele-

^a Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Valef. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 14. 19. Plut. in Marcel. Paul. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 16. ^b Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 13. & cap. 32. Idem, lib. xxvi. Zonar. ubi sup.

(A) The bigati, or nummi bigati, were silver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses stamped upon them; and the quadrigati, or nummi quadrigati, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horses, as we learn from Pliny.

phants,

phants, and a considerable body of Spanish infantry, with a large sum of money, to be sent to Italy, in order to enable Hannibal to maintain and extend his conquests. Had this ample supply been remitted with an expedition equal to the spirit with which it was granted, the Romans would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon Hannibal, on account of his conduct at Capua. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the Carthaginian republic to submit to the superior force of his arms in the next campaign: but, notwithstanding the influence of the Barcinian faction, Hanno, and his adherents, found means not only to retard the march of the intended succours, but even to diminish their force. Mago, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for no more than twelve thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and even with this body of troops he was sent to Spain. Hannibal being deserted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had resolved to sacrifice the state to their private resentment, found himself obliged to act on the defensive, his army being reduced to twenty-six thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. As the Romans, therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties to which they were reduced, sent every year two consular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the Gauls nor Italians were natural allies of the Carthaginians, and consequently would scarce fail of abandoning them, as soon as fortune began to declare against them; there is no occasion to have recourse to the pleasures of Capua, in order to account for Hannibal's being driven from Italy.

The principal cause of the decay of Hannibal's affairs.

At the return of spring, Hannibal drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and resumed the siege of Casilinum. He did not, however, push it on with vigour, knowing that the place must soon surrender through want of provisions. The famine raged so grievously amongst the citizens, that they were obliged, for some time, to feed upon the most loathsome animals. Valerius Maximus relates, that one of them gave another a hundred Roman denarii for a single mouse; which supported him till Hannibal granted the garrison a capitulation; but the person who sold it, in the mean time, perished with hunger. Marcellus not being able to raise the siege, on account of an inundation of the Volturnus, the troops in garrison were forced to have recourse to Hannibal's clemency; who, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made, permitted them to march out of the town, upon every freeman's paying seven ounces of gold. He restored Casilinum to the Campanians,

The History of the Carthaginians.

leaving a Carthaginian garrison of seven hundred men to defend the place against the Romans, in case they should attack it after his departure. To complete the reduction of that part of Italy, he besieged Petelia, the only city of that nation which held out against him. The Peteliani immediately applied to the Romans for succours in the most pressing manner; but the perplexed state of affairs would not permit the republic to yield them any assistance. Nevertheless, they defended themselves for several months against the repeated attacks of the whole Carthaginian army with incredible bravery and resolution.

*The state of
affairs in
Spain.*

During these transactions in Italy the war was carried on with great vigour in Spain. For some time Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, kept himself upon the defensive, not being in a condition to face either the Roman fleet under Publius Scipio, or the land forces commanded by Cneius. At last, receiving a reinforcement of four thousand foot and five hundred horse from Carthage, he ventured to move out of the fortresses wherein he had posted himself, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewise gave orders to have his fleet refitted, to protect the maritime parts of the Carthaginian provinces, and the adjacent islands, from all insults of the enemy; but before this was in a condition to put to sea, he received intelligence, that several captains of ships had deserted to the Romans. These captains, it seems, had been severely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the Iberus, through cowardice, last year; which reproof they not being able to brook, had from that time meditated a revolt from the Carthaginians. They endeavoured also to excite the Carthaginiensians to a defection; in which attempt they so far succeeded, that several towns withdrew their obedience to the Carthaginians, and another, that refused to join them, was reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to Asdrubal, and a seasonable diversion in favour of the Romans; for the Carthaginian general advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a design to attack Gallus, the Cartheginian general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately possessed himself of. He therefore first ordered his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the straggling parties of the enemy. By which means many of the Cartheginians were

^c Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 20. Appian. in Hannib. 8. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 5. ex 20. Plut. in Marcel. & Hannib.

killed,

killed, others put to flight, and their camp assaulted at the same time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were so far from being terrified at this motion, that they instantly issued out of their camp in a body, dancing after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the Carthaginians. This sudden impulse of courage so damped the spirits of Asdrubal's main body, with which he was advancing to attack Galbus's camp, that he thought proper to take post on an eminence of difficult access, and rendered more so by a river, which secured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the above mentioned detachments, equally intimidated at the enemy's approach. And, under such terrible apprehensions were the Carthaginians at this juncture, that, although their camp might have been considered as inaccessible, Asdrubal fortified it with an entrenchment, in order to secure it the more effectually from all attempts of the Barbarians. Some skirmishes happened whilst the two armies lay so near one another; but without any considerable loss on either side. Livy says, that the Numidian cavalry were not so good as the Carthesian, nor the Mauritanian dartmen so expert as the Carthesian targetteers; who in activity were equal to, and in strength, as well as courage, excelled them. Galbus, finding it impossible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the entrenchment, seized upon Asena, a town where Asdrubal had fixed his principal magazine, when he first entered upon the Carthesian frontiers, and easily made himself master of the open country. Asdrubal, finding that the enemy, elated with their success, soon after dispersed themselves in small parties over the country, and neglected all discipline, both in their detachments and their camp, advanced from his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The Carthesians, not expecting so sudden an attack, and having a great part of their forces then straggling about the country, were easily routed by the Carthaginians, who continued the slaughter great part of the day. In short, the whole body of the Barbarians in the camp, except a small party, that escaped by a vigorous effort to the mountains and woods, was put to the sword; a disaster which threw the Carthesians into such consternation, that the next day the whole nation submitted to Asdrubal. Soon after this action a courier arrived from Carthage, with orders to Asdrubal to begin his march for Italy without delay. The Spaniards, upon the publication of this order, considered the Carthaginians as not in a condition to protect them; and of course turned their eyes towards the Romans. Asdrubal, therefore, dispatched an

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express to Carthage, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been; at the same time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the Romans would be masters of Spain before he had passed the Iberus. Notwithstanding which remonstrance the state of Carthage persisted in its former resolution, esteeming it a matter of the utmost consequence to support Hannibal. However, it so far complied with Asdrubal's request, as to send Himilco, with a powerful army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into Spain, to watch the motions of both the natives and the Romans^d.

Before Asdrubal began his march for Italy, he furnished himself with large sums of money, which he exacted from the Spaniards subject to Carthage, being sensible that Hannibal could never have reached the Alps had he not been powerfully supported by gold. At last, having got all things in readiness for the enterprize, he assembled all his forces, and advanced to the Iberus. In the mean time he received intelligence that the Romans, apprised of his approach, had invested Ibera, a town deriving its name from the river on which it stood, and the richest in all that part of Spain. To oblige them, therefore, to raise that siege, he sat down before another town, which had lately submitted to the Romans. This expedient had the desired effect; for the Romans, leaving Ibera, encamped on a spot about five miles distant from him. The consequence of this action was a decisive battle, wherein Asdrubal gave proofs of extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared against him. The Spaniards in his army disliking an Italian expedition, fled at the first onset; the Mauritanian and Numidian horse made but a faint resistance; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter dreadful. Asdrubal performed all that could be expected from the most consummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greatest presence of mind, and to animate his men by his example; but not being able to rally his troops, he found himself obliged to abandon the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vast sums of money he had amassed for the Italian expedition. According to Eutropius and Orosius, the Carthaginians had twenty-five thousand men killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners in the action. Zonaras intimates, that Cneius was so puffed with his army, that very few of the Carthaginians found it possible to escape. After this blow, all the Spaniards, who had before been wavering

^d Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 26—29. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Appian. in Iberic. Zonar. ubi supra.

in their fidelity to Carthage, declared for the victors. Asdrubal, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his shattered army, was so far from being in a condition to attempt succouring Hannibal, that he found it difficult to maintain himself in Spain.

Himilco, who commanded the Carthaginian forces before Petelia, pushed on the siege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmost fury, and harassing the garrison by continual assaults. However, the Peteliani defended themselves in a very gallant manner, destroying great numbers of the besiegers, though they were but a handful of men: but what greatly contributed to the defence of the place was the bravery of the women, who distinguished themselves as much as the men on this occasion. They made frequent sallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithstanding these efforts, Hannibal having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were so greatly pressed by famine, that they found themselves obliged to send all the useless people out of the city, who were immediately butchered by the Carthaginians in sight of the garrison. At last they made a sally with their whole force; but the greatest part, through hunger and fatigue, not having strength enough either to use their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the sword. However, eight hundred cut their way through the enemy, and escaped in a body to the Romans; who, after the conclusion of this war, reinstated them in their former possessions, and always took care to distinguish them by particular marks of esteem.

The Carthaginians reduce Petelia:

After the reduction of Petelia, Hannibal, being rejoined by Himilco's detachment, advanced to Consentia, which soon surrendered. Locri opened its gates upon the first summons, the principal citizens having for some time kept a secret correspondence with the Brutii, who had joined the Carthaginian army. Croton, which was in a manner deserted by its inhabitants, and several other cities of Magna Græcia, followed their example. Rhegium, though attacked by Hannibal with all his forces, baffled all the efforts of the Carthaginians. Sicily, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the Romans, the defeat at Cannæ giving such an idea of the Carthaginian power, that it could not avoid discovering an inclination to follow the example of

As likewise Consentia, Croton, Locri, and other cities.

* Liv. ubi supra, cap. 29. Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Vales. Appian. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. &c. ubi supra. † Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 35. Appian. in Iberic. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 6. Plut. ubi supra.

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the Italians. Even the family of Hiero was not entirely free from this disposition: for Gelon, the heir apparent to the crown of Syracuse, despising Hiero's old age, declared for Hannibal; and had not death taken him off so suddenly, that Hiero himself was suspected of hastening his fate, he might have made a powerful diversion in favour of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians prepare to invade Sardinia.

In the mean time a courier arrived at Carthage from the army in Spain, with letters from Aldrubal, importing, that he had suffered a total defeat, and that the greatest part of Spain had revolted to the Romans. The senate and people were thunder-struck at this melancholy advice, which, for the present, disconcerted all their measures. Mago was upon the point of setting out for Italy, with a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver: but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying intelligence, was countermanded, and he was ordered to hold himself in readiness to embark for Spain at a minute's warning. Whilst matters were in this agitation at Carthage, ambassadors arrived from Sardinia, inviting the Carthaginians, in the name of Hampsicora, who at that time bore the chief command, and the other Sardinian prime nobility, to send over a body of troops, in order to take possession of that island. These ambassadors insinuated, that the Romans had scarce any forces there; that the old prator Cornelius had left the island; that a new one, unacquainted with the genius of the Sardi, was expected; that the Sardi were tired of the Roman government, and extremely incensed against their imperious and avaricious masters, for their grievous exactions; in short, that nothing was wanting to induce them to shake off the Roman yoke, but an encouragement from some powerful state, that would take them under its protection. This embassy revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians, who immediately sent Mago to Spain with the aforesaid succours, and dispatched Aldrubal, surnamed Calvus, with the like number of forces, to support the Sardi.

Hannibal concludes a treaty with Philip king of Macedonia.

Whilst the two potent republics of Carthage and Rome were thus contending for superiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring states were fixed upon them. Amongst the rest, Philip king of Macedon had observed, with great attention, the progress of this war. At first he was equally inclined to both parties; but, finding Hannibal the favourite of fortune, he resolved to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Carthaginians. He sent an em-

* Liv. ubi supra, cap. 30. Diod. Sic. lib. xxvi. in Excerpt. Vales. bassy,

bassy, with Xenophanes, one of his ministers, at the head of it, to Hannibal's camp in Campania. These ambassadors happened to fall into the hands of the Romans, and were conducted to the prætor Valerius Lævinus, in his camp at Nuceria: but Xenophanes, by his address, pretending he came to propose a treaty of friendship to the Romans, found means to pursue his route; and, upon his arrival at Hannibal's head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble, was couched in the following terms. "Copy of the treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian army, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, all the senators of Carthage, together with the whole body of forces then present, on the one side; and Xenophanes, son of Cleonachus, an Athenian, minister plenipotentiary of Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedon, in his own name, and that of the Macedonian nation and their allies, on the other. The articles of this treaty are agreed upon in the most solemn manner by both the contracting powers, in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; of the Dæmon of Carthage, Hercules, and Iolaus; of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; of those divinities who are confederates with Carthage; of the Sun, Moon, and Earth; of the Rivers, Meadows, and Waters; of the tutelary deities of Carthage, Macedon, and Greece; and, lastly, of those deities who, presiding in war, assist at, and superintend, the signing of the present treaty. Hannibal, general of the Carthaginian forces, the senators above mentioned, and the whole Carthaginian army, declare this, according to the mutual intention of both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which the contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to treat each other as friends and brethren. In consequence, therefore, of this convention, king Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, engage to defend and support, to the utmost of their power, the lords the Carthaginians, Hannibal their general, all the senators and forces with him, all governors of provinces under the dominion of Carthage, who govern by the same laws, the people of Utica, and all other cities and nations subject to the Carthaginian empire; all who bear arms in their service; all cities in alliance with them in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria; and all that shall hereafter become their allies in those countries. On the other hand, the Carthaginian armies, the inhabitants of Utica, all the cities and states subject to Carthage; all the Carthaginian allies, and their troops, all the nations of Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, that are in a state of amity with the Carthaginians, or that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with them, solemnly oblige them-

themselves to preserve from all injuries and insults, and strenuously to support, Philip king of Macedon, the Macedonian nation, together with the Greeks their allies. No clandestine designs shall be formed by either party against the other. Both powers shall, with the utmost sincerity and alacrity, act against the enemies of Carthage and king Philip, except such kings, cities, or ports, as shall have contracted a friendship with either of them. The Romans shall be considered as a common enemy, till the gods shall be pleased happily to terminate the war already commenced. King Philip, the Macedonian nation, and the Greeks their allies, shall supply the Carthaginians with all necessaries, in order to carry on this war, in such manner as shall be hereafter settled by a particular convention. If Heaven should not vouchsafe success to the arms of the high allies, but they should be obliged to enter into a negotiation with the enemy, and even conclude a peace with them, they shall all be comprehended in that treaty. The Romans shall never be permitted to have any footing in the island of Corcyra, nor to exercise any dominion over the inhabitants of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharus, Dimales, Parthenia, with its territories, and Atintania. They shall be obliged to deliver up to Demetrius Pharius all his friends and relations, who shall be found in any part of their dominions. If the Romans shall hereafter declare war against either of the contracting powers, they shall mutually assist each other, as occasion shall require. The same thing shall be done by both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with either of them, except it be a king, state, or city, with which the other was before in alliance. It shall be lawful either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new ones to it, by the mutual consent of both parties, if it shall hereafter be judged expedient so to do ^a."

*Philip's
ambassadors inter-
cepted by
the Ro-
mans.*

When the Macedonian ambassadors returned, Hannibal sent three ministers with them; namely, Gisco, Bostar, and Mago, in order to bring him king Philip's ratification of the treaty. They had a vessel waiting for them, privately stationed near the temple of Juno Lacina, in Calabria; but were scarce got to sea, when they were deseried by the Romans. Some light vessels being detached from the Roman squadron, then cruising off the coasts of Calabria, soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to surrender. In this emergency, Xenophanes had recourse to another falsehood, asserting, that all the passes and highways in Campania were so guarded by

^a Polyb. lib. vii.

the Carthaginian parties, that he found it impossible to go to Rome : but this artifice did not succeed. The Carthaginian ministers were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the Romans discovered the whole secret, sent both the Carthaginian and Macedonian ambassadors prisoners to Rome, and took measures to avert the storm with which they were threatened from this formidable alliance ¹.

About this time Hannibal received intelligence, that the Campanians, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men to act in favour of the Carthaginians, had been entirely defeated by Gracchus at Hamæ; to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon Cumæ. They lost on this occasion above two thousand men, together with Marius Albius their commander, and thirty-four standards. He, therefore, immediately, marched to Hamæ; but upon his arrival, found only the carcasses of the Campanians, who fell in the last action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to Cumæ. Hannibal reoccupied his former camp upon Mount Tifata; but, at the solicitation of the Campanians, after having ravaged all the country about Cumæ, he laid siege to that city. Having applied a huge wooden tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault: but the Roman consul, who had thrown himself into the town, erected one that was higher, and posted men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials, upon the besiegers. These efforts put the Carthaginians into disorder; which being observed by the garrison, a strong party sallied out of the town, routed and pursued them to their camp, at the distance of a mile. Next day the Carthaginian drew up his army betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the Romans to an engagement; but the consul declining a battle, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon Mount Tifata. During these transactions, Hanno was defeated at Grumentum in Lucania by T. Sempronius Longus, and lost four thousand men, besides forty-one military ensigns. After this check, Hanno abandoned Lucania to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the Brutii. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the Hirpini revolted from the Carthaginians to the Romans, who took a thousand prisoners, and caused them all to be sold unde the spear. A little before these disasters happened, Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, sailed from Carthage, with the

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by sea and land.

¹ Justin. lib. xxix. cap. 4. Liv. ubi supra. cap. 34.

armament under his command, for Sardinia ; but received great damage from a storm in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the Balearic islands. Here he staid some time, in order to refit his fleet ; a delay which gave the Romans an opportunity to make head against the Carthaginians in Sardinia, and consequently contributed to the overthrow Asdrubal soon after received in that island ^a.

Philip, king of Macedon, being informed, that his ambassadors, together with the Carthaginian ministers sent by Hannibal, had fallen into the hands of the Romans, sent Heraclitus Scotinus, Crito Berræus, and Sosithens Magnes, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This service they happily performed ; but as the summer was spent in this negotiation, Philip could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the Carthaginians. Hannibal therefore now began considerably to lose ground. Fabius, having passed the Vulturnus, in conjunction with his colleague, took the cities of Combulteria, Trebula, and Satricula, by assault, making the Carthaginian garrisons prisoners of war. In the mean time Hannibal kept up a secret correspondence with the populace of Nola, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands. This being communicated to Fabius, he detached the proconsul Marcellus with a body of troops to garrison the place, and protect the nobility in the Roman interest ; and posted himself betwixt Nola and the Carthaginian camp upon Mount Tifata, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. Marcellus likewise made frequent incursions into the territories of the Hirpini, and the Samnites Caudini, where he committed great depredations. These hostilities induced the Hirpini and the Samnites to reproach Hannibal with his indolence, telling him, that Marcellus seemed rather to be the conqueror at Cannæ than Hannibal. To whom the Carthaginian replied, that as the blow given the Romans at Cannæ had eclipsed all his other victories, so they should soon see the glory of that obscured by another more illustrious achievement. Then dismissing them with magnificent presents, he advanced towards Nola, after having left a sufficient body of troops to guard his camp on Mount Tifata. Upon his approach, he sent Hanno, with a detachment of forces, to persuade the Nolans to surrender their city to the Carthaginians. By permission of Marcellus, he had a conference with Herennius Bassus, and Herius Petrius, two persons of the first distinction in the place ; but without ef-

*Marcellus
gains an-
other con-
siderable ad-
vantage
over Han-
nibal.*

^a Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 35, & seq. Plut. in Hannib.

fect. Hannibal therefore, surrounding the city, made the necessary dispositions for attacking it with the utmost vigour; which Marcellus observing, sallied out upon his forces with such fury, that the action must have become general, had not the combatants on both sides been obliged to retire by a violent storm. Two days after this transaction a bloody engagement happened within a mile of Nola, wherein the Carthaginians were driven from the field. They lost, on this occasion, fifty thousand men killed upon the spot; and had six hundred taken prisoners. A body of near thirteen hundred Spanish and Numidian horse, immediately after this defeat, deserted to the Romans. Fabius, now laying aside his usual caution, penetrated into the very heart of Campania; and hearing of Hannibal's retreat into Apulia, moved towards Capua, destroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and sword¹.

In the mean time, Asdrubal being detained in one of the ports of the Balearic islands, Manlius landed his forces at Caralis; and, upon a review, found them to consist of twenty-two thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near Hampscora, the Sardinian general, who, being gone into the district of the Pelliti Sardi, to assemble all the youth able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his son Hioftus to command in his absence. Hioftus, being an impetuous youth, ventured an engagement with Manlius, wherein he had the misfortune to be defeated, leaving three thousand of his men killed upon the spot, and three hundred were taken prisoners. The body assembled by Hampscora, upon this disaster, immediately dispersed into the woods and fields; but at last retired to a city called Cornus, the capital of the aforesaid district. Sardinia now must have been totally lost, had not Asdrubal arrived in the critical moment with the forces sent from Carthage for the support of the Sardi. Hampscora joined him with all the Sardinian troops he could assemble: and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the Roman allies, plundering the country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to Caralis, and seize upon that capital; but Manlius intercepted them before they could put their design in execution. After some slight skirmishes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action ensued, wherein the Sardi were

*The Carthaginians
once more
driven out
of Sardinia.*

¹ Liv. ubi supra, cap. 38—48. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. in Feb. & in Marcell. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Luc. Ampel. in lib. Memorial. cap. 46.

soon put to the rout; but the Carthaginians continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, insomuch that the victory hung long in suspense. However, they were at last entirely defeated, and dispersed beyond a possibility of rallying. Twelve thousand of the Sardi and Carthaginians fell in this battle; and seven hundred of both nations were taken prisoners. Mago, a near relation of Hannibal; Hanno, another Carthaginian nobleman, the chief promoter of all the troubles in Sardinia; and Asdrubal the general, were in the number of the latter: but Hiofius, the son of Hampsicora, was killed; a circumstance which threw his father into such an excess of grief, that he laid violent hands on himself. The shattered remains of the Carthaginian and Sardinian army fled to Cornus, and, almost upon the first summons of the conqueror, surrendered at discretion. All the cities and fortresses likewise, either in the Carthaginian jurisdiction, or that of Hampsicora, in a few days submitted to Manlius; who soon set sail from Caralis for the coast of Italy, with the prisoners, as well as the vast booty, he had acquired in this successful expedition^m.

The Carthaginians worsted at sea.

Asdrubal had no sooner landed his troops in Sardinia, than he sent the fleet back to Africa, the admiral of which, in his passage, was attacked by a Roman squadron of fifty sail, under the command of T. Otacilius the prætor; who, having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of Carthage, was steering his course towards Sardinia, in quest of this very fleet. The Romans took seven Carthaginian galleys, with their crews, the rest escaping by setting all their sails and bearing away. About this time Bomilcar arrived at Locri, with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a considerable supply of provisions and military stores, from Carthage. After a short stay, he joined Hanno, who lay encamped in the country of the Brutii. This general had escaped being taken by Appius, who suddenly passed the Straights of Reggio, and advanced to the gates of Locri, in order to surprise him. Appius took post in the neighbourhood of Locri, immediately after Bomilcar's departure; so that the city, being abandoned by the Carthaginians, opened its gates to him. However, he missed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, soon after returned to Messina.

State of affairs in Spain.

The Carthaginians sustained this year a very considerable loss in Spain. Asdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, the son of Bomilcar, three Carthaginian generals, besieged Illiturgis,

^m Liv. ubi supra, cap. 40—41. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 16. Sil. Ital. lib. xii. Eutrop. lib. iii. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 5.

which

which had revolted. The Romans, with much difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and relieved their allies when they were upon the point of surrendering for want of a supply. This encouraged the Scipios to hazard a battle with the Carthaginians, whose army consisted of sixty thousand men, though their's did not amount to above sixteen thousand. Asdrubal's camp, being by far the most considerable, was first attacked by the Romans. Mago and Hamilcar advanced, each of them at the head of his respective corps, to support him: but notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the Carthaginian camps were forced, and their army routed, with the loss of above sixteen thousand men upon the spot, three thousand made prisoners, five elephants slain, besides a thousand horses, sixty military ensigns, and five elephants taken. The consequence of this defeat was the raising the siege of Illiturgis, from whence the Carthaginians retired with precipitation to Indibilis, and in a short time found means to recruit their forces out of the Spanish provinces so effectually, that they ventured another engagement with the Scipios. But their unhappy fate still attending them, they were vanquished again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loss of thirteen thousand men killed in the action and the pursuit. Three thousand prisoners, above forty standards, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds Livy, almost all the different nations of Spain revolted to the Romans ⁿ.

No considerable events happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of Croton, however, was abandoned to the people of Locri, allies of the Carthaginians, after the conclusion of the campaign. Hannibal took up his winter-quarters at Arpi, and the consul Sempronius fixed his at Lucceria. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the Carthaginian and Roman parties frequently skirmishing with one another ^o.

About this time Hannibal found means to raise commotions in Sicily, which turned out greatly to his advantage. After the death of Hiero, by several artful steps, he fixed his grandson Hieronymus who succeeded him in the kingdom of Syracuse, in the interest of the Carthaginians. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that after he came to the crown, he shewed a

The troops in Italy on both sides go into winter-quarters.

Hannibal raises commotions in Sicily.

ⁿ Idem. *ibid.* Vide & Flor. Eutrop. Oros. & Zonar. *ubi supra*, ut & in Not. Oudendorp. in S. Jul. Front. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 3. ex. 1.
^o Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 2-4.

most abandoned disposition; and that many prodigies at Syracuse preceded his accession. Polybius, however, differs from these authors in relation to his character; though he allows that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with Hannibal, and the state of Carthage, he was assassinated by the direction of Indigimines, one of the officers of his guards^p.

The Romans gain some advantages over Hannibal.

The Capuans, hearing of the great preparations made in all the Roman provinces for the vigorous prosecution of this war, no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, especially as they knew themselves to be extremely obnoxious to the Romans. They, therefore, in the most pressing terms, intreated Hannibal to march immediately to their assistance, and prevent the Romans from investing their city. Hannibal, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to Mount Tifata, near Capua, where he had encamped the former year. Here he left a body of Spaniards and Numidians to defend the advantageous spot of ground he possessed, and sent a detachment to reinforce the garrison of Capua. Then he marched to the lake Avernus, under pretence of sacrificing to the gods, but in reality to attempt surprising Puteoli, into which Fabius had some time before thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of Cumæ, as far as the promontory of Misenum, he presented himself before Puteoli, and summoned the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to surrender: but finding the Romans determined to defend themselves to the last extremity, and that the place was almost impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this disappointment, the populace of Nola, upon his approach towards their city, desired Hannibal to send some forces to defend them against the senate, who were friends to the Romans: but Marcellus having with great difficulty passed the Volturnus, reinforced the garrison of Nola with six thousand foot, and three hundred horse, thereby prevented the Carthaginian from being admitted into the place. In the mean time Hanno, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped within three miles of Beneventum, upon the river Calor: Gracchus being informed of this motion, advanced at the head of a large detachment, consisting chiefly of slaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. The vicinity of the two camps soon brought on a general action, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated with very considerable loss. During these

^p Liv. ubi supra, cap. 4—8. Polyb. lib. vii. in Excerpt.

transactions in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, Hannibal appeared again before Nola; but Marcellus, having joined the prætor Pomponius, and ordered Claudius Nero, with a strong body of horse, to assault the enemy's rear, attacked him without hesitation. After a warm dispute, the Roman gained the advantage, and might have entirely overthrown the Carthaginian, could Nero have executed his orders: but that commander having, by some unforeseen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing decisive happened on either side. Hannibal soon after drew off his forces from before Nola, and retreated towards Tarentum ⁹.

Hanno, after the disgrace he had received near Beneventum, retired into Lucania, where meeting with a body of Roman troops, sent by Gracchus to ravage the country, he soon dispersed them, putting a great number to the sword. Fabius and Marcellus now jointly carried on the siege of Cassilinum, which they pushed so vigorously, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. Fabius granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they should have leave to retire to Capua; but Marcellus, in violation of this agreement, massacred many of them, and sent all the rest, except fifty that escaped to Fabius, prisoners to Rome. The Romans afterwards destroyed with fire and sword the whole country of the Caudine Samnites, carried off an immense quantity of plunder, and took by storm the cities Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melze, Fulfulze, and Orbitanium. Blandæ in Lucania, and Anæ in Apulia, likewise suffered the same fate: but Hanno, with the booty he gained in the late action, arrived safe in the country of the Brutii ¹⁰.

*Hanno
defeats
Gracchus.*

Whilst Hannibal was encamped on the lake Avernus, five young Tarentine noblemen, who had been taken prisoners in the battles of the lake Thrasymenus and Cannæ, and dismissed with great generosity by that general, arrived as ambassadors from the city of Tarentum. They told him, that in return for his kindness, they had prevailed upon the Tarentines to prefer his friendship to that of the Romans; and that they would open their gates upon his presenting himself before the town. Hannibal relying upon this assurance, soon after advanced into the neighbourhood of Tarentum; but finding that no person offered to stir, he bent his march to Salapia, ordering vast quantities of provisions, collected in the territories of Metapontum and He-

*Hannibal
advances
to Taren-
tum, but
without
any effect.*

⁹ Liv. ubi supra, cap. 11—13. Vide & Liv. ubi supra, cap. 13, Appian. & Plut. in Hannib. ¹⁰ Liv. ubi sup. cap. 19—21.

raclea, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix his winter-quarters there, he likewise sent detachments of Moors and Numidians to carry off every thing valuable that could be found in the district of Salentum, and the adjacent woody parts of Apulia. Amongst other things which were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horses, four thousand of which being broke, were very serviceable to Hannibal in the remounting of his cavalry.

*The trans-
actions in
Spain.*

Notwithstanding the losses the Carthaginians sustained the last year in Spain, Aldruhal and Mago, in the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of Spaniards; a circumstance which would have been of bad consequence to the Romans, had not Publius advanced with great expedition to the Tiber, in order to support his confederates. The Romans encamped at Castrum Altum, a place remarkable for the death of the great Hamilcar. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, Publius, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harassed by their horse, soon decamped, and polled himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. Publius, soon after his arrival in his new camp, went with a detachment of light-armed troops to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places. This excursion being observed by the Carthaginian general, he advanced at the head of his forces, to attack him; and must have surprised him in a plain, had he not retired in time to an eminence, where he defended himself till his brother Cneius came to his relief. Castulo, a strong and noble city of Spain, and so strictly allied with the Carthaginians, that Aldruhal had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the Romans. The Carthaginians, not discouraged at this defection, laid siege to Illiturgis, defended by a Roman garrison, which was in great danger of surrendering for want of provisions. Cneius hearing of their distress, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully with every necessary, and the next day sallied out upon the enemy. In the two actions the Carthaginians had twelve thousand men killed upon the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Being obliged to abandon the siege of Illiturgis, they marched from thence to attack Bigerra, another city in alliance with Rome; but Cneius forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards the Carthaginian general retreated to Munda, whither he was followed by the Romans. Here both armies engaged for four hours, when the Romans would have been victorious, had not Scipio been wounded

in

in the thigh by a javelin; an accident which so dispirited his troops, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. In this action the Carthaginian troops, according to Livy, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchments, where thirty-nine of those huge animals perished by the enemy's darts. Twelve thousand Carthaginians lost their lives on the field of battle, and three thousand, with fifty-seven military ensigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the Carthaginians retreated with great precipitation to Aurinx, and were pursued by the Romans. There Cneius, being carried in a litter, again attacked Asdrubal, and entirely routed him; but did not make such a carnage as in the former engagements, because the Carthaginian forces were not at that time so numerous. Notwithstanding all these disasters, Mago speedily raised such a number of recruits as enabled his brother to face the Romans once more. Another battle ensued, wherein the Romans experienced their usual success. Above eight thousand Carthaginians, with eight elephants, were slain, and about one thousand, with fifty-eight military ensigns, and three elephants, taken. Manicapo and Civilinaro, two kings of the Gauls, who came to assist their allies the Carthaginians, likewise fell in this battle. A vast number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other Gallic spoils, also fell into the possession of the victors. The Romans, having driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to Saguntum, forced the Carthaginian garrison to abandon the city, and then restored it to the ancient inhabitants that had survived the calamities of their country. Cneius caused the Turdetani, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, to be sold by auction, and afterwards raised their city. Such is the account Livy has given us of the military operations this year in Spain; in which, however, he seems to have deservedly incurred the imputation of partiality to his own countrymen¹.

In the following spring Hannibal received intelligence, that Cassius Altinius, who abandoned the Roman interest after the battle of Cannæ, had offered to deliver Arpi into the hands of the Romans for a sum of money. This intelligence did not displease the Carthaginian, who had long suspected Altinius of holding a correspondence with the enemy: since such a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of seizing upon the immense treasures that wealthy citizen possessed. But, that he might appear not so much influenced by avarice as resentment, as soon as he got Altinius

The campaign in Italy.

¹ Philinus apud Polyb. lib. i. sub init. Liv. ubi sup. cap. 41—43.

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nus's riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. Hannibal immediately put a garrison of five thousand Carthaginians into the city above mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thousand citizens, in order to secure it against any attack of the Romans. However, the Fabii, having seized all the avenues, surprised it in the manner already related. About a thousand Spaniards, at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the Romans, and prevailed upon them to permit the Carthaginian garrison to retire. In pursuance of the capitulation, those troops were conducted by a Roman escorte to Hannibal's camp at Salapia, without the least injury. This is Livy's account. But Appian relates, that the Fabii did not reduce Arpi by force, but by means of some traitors; and that they put all the Carthaginians to the sword¹.

Some motions in Africa.

The Romans at this period entered into an alliance with Syphax, a Numidian prince, who had suddenly conceived an aversion to the Carthaginians. In consequence of the treaty concluded between the two powers, the Romans sent Q. Statorius into Africa, to discipline a body of Numidian infantry after the Roman manner. Statorius, upon his arrival in Numidia, soon inrolled a considerable body of foot out of Syphax's youth. These he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and celerity, and to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the Roman model; so that in a short time Syphax had a body of infantry, which he could entirely depend upon. The Carthaginians, finding their Numidian forces beginning to desert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects such a formidable union might produce, dispatched ambassadors to Gala, king of the Massyli, another Numidian prince, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance. Gala, at the persuasion of his son Masinissa, then only seventeen years of age, closed with the proposal, and sent an army to assist his new allies. Masinissa, to whose conduct that army was committed, gave Syphax two such overthrows, the first in conjunction with the Carthaginians, and the second with the Massylian forces only, that this prince found it impossible to make a diversion afterwards in favour of the Romans².

Though Hannibal stood upon the defensive the last campaign, towards the close of it, some inconsiderable cities of the Salentines surrendered to his arms. However, to balance this advantage, the Thurians and Consentini revolted

¹ Liv. ubi sup. cap. 45—47. Appian. in Hannib. in Iberie. Liv. ubi sup. cap. 48, 49.

² Appian.

to the Romans. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal consequences, had not Hanno vanquished a body of Roman forces under the command of L. Pomponius Veientanus in Lucania, after they had made dreadful incursions into the country of the Brutii. The commander himself was taken prisoner in the action, and a great part of his men were cut off; an event which prevented several petty states from abandoning the Carthaginian interest, though a few small towns of Lucania, after that defeat, opened their gates to Sempronius. In the mean time Phileas, who had a long time resided at Rome as minister from Tarentum, a man of a furbulent and restless disposition, retired privately from Rome, with some Tarentine hostages, whom he had assisted to make their escape. But being closely pursued, they were all taken near Tarracina, brought back to Rome, scourged publicly in the comitium, and afterwards thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. This barbarity extremely incensed the Tarentines. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were Nicon and Philemenus, formed a design to massacre the Roman troops in garrison, and deliver the city to the Carthaginians. These two young noblemen, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged in a hunting-match. Nicon and Philemenus, as had been before concerted, rode up so near Hannibal's lines, that they were seized by one of his advanced guards, their associates having before dispersed themselves in the neighbouring woods. At first they refused to give any account of themselves; but only intimated, that they had something of moment to impart to the general. Being conducted to him, they desired to have a private conference; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the disposition of the Tarentines, exclaiming bitterly at the same time against the Romans. Hannibal received them with great kindness, loaded them with promises, and then dismissed them. At the second conference, Nicon and Philemenus concluded a treaty with Hannibal on the part of the Tarentines, upon the following terms: 1. When the Carthaginians shall have possessed themselves of Tarentum, the citizens shall enjoy their laws, liberties, and estates, without infringement: 2. They shall not be obliged to pay any tribute, or receive a Carthaginian garrison, without their own consent: 3. All the effects of the Romans in Tarentum shall be given up as free booty to the Carthaginian troops. Soon after this agreement, Hannibal, by the assistance of the conspirators, and the negligence of Livius, the Roman governor, surpris-

Yr. of Fl.
2149.
Ante Cbr.
199.

*Hannibal
has Ta-
rentum de-
livered up
to him.*

ed the town; and the Roman garrison retired into the citadel. In order to cover the town from the insults of this garrison, he secured that side of it next to the citadel with walls. A strong party of the Roman troops made a sally upon the workmen; but Hannibal drawing them into an ambuscade, put most of them to the sword. Then he built several works, that rendered the city impregnable on the side of the citadel; which he at last besieged: but, after he had advanced his military machines, and his line of circumvallation was formed, the Romans received a reinforcement by sea from Metapontum; which so excited their courage, that the next night they made a sally, ruined the works of the besiegers, and burnt their machines. This repulse forced Hannibal to abandon the enterprise; but, by making carriages of several carts joined together, upon which he raised ships, he drew galleys with their rigging over land, from one part of the sea to another. This contrivance secured the Tarentines a free passage to the sea, of all communication with which they had been before deprived by the garrison in the citadel. He then returned to the banks of the Galesus, where he had before encamped; and left the citadel blocked up, both by sea and land *.

Hanno defeated by the Romans.

Whilst Hannibal lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, the consuls threatened Capua with a siege. This design greatly alarmed the Capuans, who were under dreadful apprehensions of a famine, as the Romans had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated Hannibal to send them a supply of provisions, before the Romans should have cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places where the Carthaginians, and their allies, had erected magazines. Accordingly Hanno, in pursuance of an order received from Hannibal, marching out of the country of the Brutii, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from Beneventum; and, having amassed a great quantity of corn, appointed a day for the Capuans to send a proper number of waggons to carry it off. The consuls being informed of this intention, Fulvius marched with great expedition to Beneventum, and from thence to the Carthaginian camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of Vibius, a centurion of the Pelignian troops, Valerius Flaccus, tribune of the third legion, and P. Pedanius, a centurion, carried, after an obstinate resistance. Above six thousand

* Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 7—12. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 3. ex. 6.

Carthaginians were slain, and seven thousand taken prisoners. A great number of Campanian peasants, together with their waggons, and the corn Hanno had collected for the use of the Capuans, as well as an immense quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the Romans. Hanno himself was not in the action, but at some distance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it at Cominium Ceritum, he retired, with great precipitation, into Brudium. This blow so terrified the Capuans, that the principal persons among them seemed afraid the enemy would as easily possess themselves of Capua as they had before reduced Arpi. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incursions of the Roman parties, Hannibal sent the garrison a reinforcement of two thousand men. In the mean time the Carthaginian garrison at Tarentum, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the blockade of the citadel, Hannibal, with his army, pursuing all the necessary measures, to facilitate the reduction of that place².

The body of troops left to defend Metapontum being so weakened by the large detachment sent to the citadel of Tarentum, that the Romans were not in a condizion to make head against the citizens, who were well affected to the Carthaginians, Hannibal found means to make himself master of that city. Appian writes, that the Metapontini put all the Romans to the sword; and that Heraclea, a town situated between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed the example of those cities. The Thurians likewise, being nearly related to the people of the two last mentioned cities, as descended from the Achæans, and highly resenting the cruel treatment of the Tarentine hostages, meditated a revolt from the Romans. They therefore sent a deputation to Hanno and Mago, who commanded a Carthaginian army in Brutium, inviting them to take possession of Thurium. Atinius, the commandant, had but a small garrison, his chief dependence being upon the citizens, whom he had armed and disciplined, that they might be enabled to support him, in case of a visit from the enemy. Hanno first presented himself before the town with a body of infantry, whilst Mago, with the cavalry, lay in ambuscade by favour of some eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were sent to reconnoitre the Carthaginians. Atinius, therefore, imagining that he should be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conspiracy the Thurians had entered into, did not in the least doubt but

The Carthaginians admitted into Thurium.

Liv. ubi sup. cap. 13—15. Appian. in Hannib.

The History of the Carthaginians.

that he should easily repulse the enemy. Hanno, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the Romans, drawing both them and the Thurians insensibly to the foot of the eminences possessed by the Carthaginian horse; who immediately rushing upon them with a great shout, the Thurians, according to agreement, fled, and were received by the conspirators into the city. The Romans, in the mean time, notwithstanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; but, being at last put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they were denied admission, the conspirators on the walls exclaiming, "That the Carthaginians, being mixed with the Romans, would certainly enter, unless the gates were immediately shut." They were all therefore cut to pieces, except Atinius, with a few of his principal officers, whom the Thurians saved from the general carnage, from the great personal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and just government. After they had sent them, on board some galleys, to the next port belonging to the Romans, the conspirators delivered Thurium into the hands of the Carthaginians. In the mean time the consuls proceeded towards Capua, in order to form the siege of that important place.

*The pro-
consul Sem-
pronius be-
trayed and
killed.*

Whilst the Romans were preparing to attack Hannibal in the most sensible part, they sustained an almost irreparable loss by the death of Sempronius Gracchus. That excellent commander, having made the necessary dispositions for marching out of Lucania into the neighbourhood of Capua, with a body of Volones, to prevent the enemy from throwing any succours into the place, was, by the treachery of Flavius Lucanus, drawn into an ambuscade, and cut off, with the small party that attended him. Livy tells us, that authors do not entirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, some affirming that he was massacred by two troops of Numidians, as he repeated a sacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at some distance from the camp, before he left Lucania; others, that a Carthaginian detachment put him, and a few lieutors, with three slaves attending them, to the sword, near the river Calor, in the territory of Beneventum, as they were bathing themselves; and others again, that he fell in the manner first related. The Roman writers differ likewise as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; some intimating, that Hannibal celebrated his funeral obsequies with great pomp and magnificence; and others, that he sent the body to the Roman

camp to be interred. Be that as it may, Hannibal probably reaped considerable advantage from this accident, since it, for some time, seems to have retarded the attack of Capua².

However, the consuls at last approached that city with an intention to invest it; and the Capuans ordered a detachment of foot to make a sally upon the enemy. As the Romans plundered all the country through which they marched, that detachment, supported by a body of Carthaginian cavalry under the command of Mago, fell in with a numerous party, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or discipline: these troops Mago routed at the first attack, killed fifteen hundred upon the spot, recovered a vast quantity of booty, and dispersed the rest. This action so much dejected the consuls, that at present they thought proper to stand upon the defensive, and so encouraged the Carthaginians and Capuans, that they harassed the Romans in their turn. Hannibal, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to Capua and attacked the Romans. Soon after the beginning of the engagement, the quaestor Cornelius appeared with a body of troops, formerly commanded by Sempronius, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehension both armies retired from the field of battle to their respective camps. The consuls, after the action, in which the Romans suffered most, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige Hannibal to leave the territory of Capua. Fulvius retreated into the district of Cumæ, whilst Claudius took his march into Lucania. Hannibal pursued the latter, but was not able to come up with him: however, he met with a Roman corps of sixteen thousand men, under the conduct of M. Centenius Penula, who had signalized himself on many occasions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the senate by P. Cornelius Sulla the prætor, had the confidence to tell the conscript fathers, that, if they would trust him with only a body of five thousand men, he would check the career of the Carthaginians, and give a good account of Hannibal. Instead of five, they assigned him eight thousand, which, by the accession of volunteers in his march to Lucania, and many of the natives on his arrival, he increased to double the number. Being a man of astonishing resolution, he engaged the Carthaginians upon Hannibal's first offering him battle; but not being able to withstand that general, after a fight of two hours, he was entirely defeated. As Hannibal, by blocking up all the passes with detachments of his cavalry, had cut off

Hannibal gives Centenius Penula a great defeat.

² Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2. Orof. lib. iv. cap. 17.

their retreat, all the Romans, except a thousand men, together with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which defeat, Claudius, having taken a large compass in order to get clear of Hannibal, arrived once more before Capua, and, in conjunction with his colleague, blocked up that city^a.

*as likewise
the prætor
Fulvius.*

Hannibal, ever mindful of taking advantage of the foibles of the Roman generals, receiving intelligence from his spies in Apulia, that Cn. Fulvius the prætor, elated with some late instances of success, despised the enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of discipline amongst his troops, advanced to Herdonia, where the Romans lay encamped. Upon his arrival he posted three thousand light-armed troops in the neighbouring houses, and amongst the shrubs and bushes, which concealed them from the enemy; and detached Mago with two thousand horse to secure all the avenues through which it was probable the routed enemy would attempt to escape. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was easily drawn by Hannibal into the ambuscade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and his retreat cut off, the whole Roman corps, consisting of eighteen thousand men, except the prætor and two hundred horse, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the Carthaginians, was almost entirely put to the sword. The two last disasters immediately succeeding each other, threw the Roman senate into the utmost consternation, and obliged them to send M. Metilius and C. Lætorius to the consuls with fresh instructions^b.

*Hannibal
in vain at-
tempts to
excite the
citizens of
Brundisi-
um to a
revolt.*

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the consuls, pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the necessary dispositions for forming the siege of Capua. Hannibal, after the defeat of the enemy at Herdonia, returned to Tarentum, where he attempted both by force and persuasion, to bring the Roman garrison in the citadel to a capitulation: but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to Brundisium, to excite the citizens to a revolt. Being disappointed in this view, he entertained some thoughts of moving towards Capua, at the earnest desire of the inhabitants, who sent a deputation to him for that purpose.

*Otacilius
ravages
the coasts
of Africa.*

About the time of the reduction of Syracuse, Otacilius sailed with eighty quinquereines from Lilybæum to Utica, where, entering the port in the night, he captured a great number of vessels laden with corn. After which he landed a body of forces, which ravaged all the adjacent territory,

^a Id. ubi supra, cap. 18—22.
in Hannib.

^b Idem ibid, cap. 22. Plut

and then returned on board with a very considerable booty. The Carthaginians giving him no obstruction in this excursion, either by sea or land, he arrived safe at Lilybæum, three days after he left the harbour of Utica, with a hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn and other spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a seasonable supply he was enabled to relieve the people of Syracuse, who, as well as the Romans residing there, were at that time threatened with a famine.

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain; one commanded by Asdrubal the son of Gisco, another by Mago, and the third by Asdrubal the brother of Hannibal. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days march from the Romans; and the latter posted himself at Anitorgis, a city much nearer the enemy. This disposition obliged the Romans to divide their forces also. Cneius, with one third of the Roman troops, and a body of thirty thousand Celtiberian auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of Anitorgis, to observe the motions of Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with an intention to come to an engagement. Asdrubal, having a perfect knowledge of the Spanish perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the Celtiberian tongue, easily found means to bribe the Celtiberian troops to desert; which obliged Cneius to retire with great precipitation before the Carthaginians. In the mean time Mago, and the other Asdrubal, by the assistance of Masinissa, and Indibilis, regulus of the Lacetani, gave the Romans a complete overthrow, and killed Publius. The same generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards pursuing Cneius, attacked him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the sword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the rest to fly to Publius's camp, which was guarded by a small body, under the command of T. Fonteius, one of his lieutenants. However, the Carthaginians, towards the close of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young Roman knight, named C. Martius, who had collected the remains of the Roman army, as we have related in another part of this work. According to Claudius, who translated the *Annales Aciliani* out of Greek into Latin, two Carthaginian camps were forced in twenty-four hours by Martius, thirty-seven thousand Carthaginians killed, eighteen hundred made prisoners, besides many spoils taken, amongst which was a silver shield, weighing a hun-

The transactions in Spain.

dred and thirty-eight pounds; with the effigies of Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar upon it. Valerius Antias relates, that when Mago's camp was taken, seven thousand of the enemy were put to the sword; and that, in a pitched battle, Marcius defeated Asdrubal, killing ten thousand of his troops, and making four thousand three hundred and thirty prisoners. Piso affirms, that the Romans drew the Carthaginians into an ambuscade, and by that stratagem cut off five thousand of them; but the accounts of these authors are so improbable and contradictory, that we ought to read them with caution.

The Roman generals push on the siege of Capua.

In the mean time the Romans pushed on the siege of Capua with the utmost vigour. The Capuans made several sallies with success; but Hannibal was at last informed by a Numidian horseman, who had passed through the Roman camp undiscovered in the night, that Capua was reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions; and then, though not without regret, he moved from his camp upon the Galefus near Tarentum, to the relief of his favourite city. Though for some time after the arrival of the Numidian, he remained in a state of suspense, not knowing whether the reduction of the ~~city~~ of Tarentum, or the relief of Capua, would turn out most to his advantage; yet, from the singular affection he bore the Capuans, he at last came to a resolution to prefer their safety to the other consideration. It is probable likewise that he took this step in order to preserve his reputation amongst his allies. Leaving, therefore, his baggage in Brutium, he advanced, with a strong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards Capua, encamping in a valley behind Mount Tifata. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he first took a fort called Calatia, and then attacked the Roman lines, the Capuans at the same instant, as had been concerted betwixt them and Hannibal, making a vigorous sally with their whole garrison; but after a warm dispute, both the Carthaginians and Capuans were repulsed with considerable loss. Livy asserts, that in the heat of the action the Spaniards and Numidians, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp; that those animals, by overturning the Roman tents, and frightening the beasts of burden, diffused terror wherever they moved; and that Hannibal, taking advantage of this confusion, ordered some of his men, who could speak Latin, to cry out, that since the Roman camp was taken, every soldier was at liberty to shift for himself as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains. However, the elephants being soon driven out of the camp by fire, and Hannibal's
artifice

artifice defeated, the Romans recollected themselves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action Hannibal, unable either to draw the enemy to a battle, or force a passage through their camp into the town, laid aside all thoughts for the present of relieving Capua^d.

*Hannibal
advances
to Rome.*

However, that general, ever active in forming schemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at last devised an expedient which, he doubted not, would infallibly answer his purpose. He proposed to march with such expedition to Rome, as to prevent himself at the walls of that metropolis, before the Romans could have any notice or suspicion of his design. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, Hannibal ordered his troops to supply themselves with provisions for ten days, and prepared as many transports as would waft them over the Vulturnus in one night; but, notwithstanding the privacy with which this affair was transacted, Fulvius, by means of Carthaginian deserters, received intelligence of Hannibal's intended motion, and dispatched a courier to Rome, to give the senate early notice of his approach. As the Carthaginian did not march directly to Rome, but took a compass, and staid to ravage the countries through which he moved, the Romans had time to make proper dispositions for the defence of their capital. Hannibal, having marched by Sueffa, Allifæ, Aquinum, Interamna, Fregellæ, Labicum, Tusculum, and Gabii, encamped on a commodious spot of ground within eight miles of Rome. The Numidian cavalry in the advanced-guard filled all places with slaughter, and took many prisoners. He then advanced to the banks of the Anio, about three miles from the enemy's capital, from whence, escorted by a choice detachment of two thousand horse, he proceeded to the very gates of Rome, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the situation of the city; but not meeting with the desired success, either in this excursion or in the attempts he afterwards made, he retired six miles from Rome, and posted himself upon the Tutia. From hence he went to the grove of the goddess Feronia, where stood a temple sacred to that divinity, enriched with the valuable oblations and presents of the Capenates, a people inhabiting that district; which he plundered. Livy affirms, that after Hannibal's departure, great heaps of brass were found in this grove, which his soldiers had left in the room of the treasure they had carried off. According to Strabo, a sacrifice was offered annually to the goddess Feronia, in the grove where she was worshipped, at the foot of the

^d Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 4—7.

mountain Soracte, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. Hannibal, finding himself disappointed in his views, is said to have exclaimed, that at one time his own will, at another fortune, would not permit him to take Rome.

Capua surrenders to the Romans.

Hannibal, finding that he could not relieve Capua, marched with such expedition to Rhegium, that he had nearly surprised that city. This expedition was by no means pleasing to the Capuans, who prevailed upon Bostar and Hanno, the commanders of the Carthaginian forces in Capua, to press Hannibal, in the most moving terms, to attempt raising the siege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for Hannibal either being unable or unwilling to relieve the place, it was obliged to surrender to the Romans, Seppius Lælius being at that time the mediastuticus, or chief magistrate. Vibius Virius, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poison, as did twenty-seven other senators. In what a shocking and inhuman manner Fulvius treated the Capuan senators, both before and even after the conscript fathers at Rome had granted them mercy, may be seen in a former part of this work. The success of this siege gave the Romans a visible superiority over the Carthaginians, and disposed the Italian states in general to declare for their former masters.

State of affairs in Spain.

Some time after the reduction of Capua, Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar being encamped at Lapides Atri, in the country of the Aufetani, between Illiturgis and Mentissa, was informed that Claudius Nero, who had been employed before Capua, was arrived in Spain with a strong reinforcement. That general had taken upon him the command of the army destined to act against the Carthaginians in Spain, in the room of L. Marcius, and T. Fonteius. Asdrubal soon after, through want of conduct, suffered himself to be enclosed in an isthmus in such a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However, he found means to extricate himself from the difficulties in which that error had involved him, though not by the most honourable methods. This event so changed the face of affairs in Spain, that no person of distinction, except P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Publius, who had lately lost his life in Spain, offered himself a candidate for the proconsulate in that province. He was therefore chosen proconsul for Spain, and sent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival, he received deputations from most of

* Liv. ubi supra, cap. 12—17. Polyb. ubi supra.

the Spanish nations, who discovered a great inclination to come to a close union with the Romans. When Scipio, amidst the applause and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at Rome, undertook the command of the army in Spain, he was scarce twenty-four years of age.

Nothing of consequence, except what has been already related, happened farther this year in Spain. At the end of it Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, extended his winter-quarters as far as Gades, and the ocean. Mago occupied his, above the Saltus Castulonensis; and Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of Saguntum. About this time the Carthaginians sent a squadron to Tarentum, to cut off all supplies from the Roman garrison in the citadel; but they incommoded their allies the Tarentines more than they disturbed the enemy; for it was found impossible to convey, either by sea or land, a quantity of provisions sufficient to support both the people of Tarentum, and the forces on board the Carthaginian galleys. Though the latter, therefore, for some time blocked up the citadel by sea, they could not carry their point, the Romans being plentifully supplied with provisions, and having a large train of military engines. Hannibal, now finding the Carthaginian affairs going swiftly to decay in Italy, as well as Sicily and Spain, could not forbear exclaiming against Hanno, and his faction, for the detention of those succours which would have enabled him to finish the conquest of Italy.

Hannibal's affairs go to decay in Italy, Sicily, and Spain.

In the next campaign the Romans recovered Salapia, by the assistance of Blasius, a Salapian, who had always been a secret well-wisher to the republic. As the particulars of this action have been already related, we shall not dwell upon them here; but only observe, that Hannibal lost a body of his best horse in it, which proved much more fatal to him than the fall of Salapia; for his cavalry could never, after this disaster, make head against that of the Romans, to which it had always been before superior. About this time a Tarentine squadron defeated a Roman fleet sent to supply the citadel with provisions, under the conduct of Decimus Quintius, who was killed in the action: but to compensate for this disaster, a Roman detachment, consisting of two thousand men, fell upon four thousand Tarentine foragers, and, through the conduct and bravery of their leader, C. Perseus, entirely defeated them, putting the greatest part of them to the sword^f.

The Romans take Salapia; but are defeated at sea by the Tarentines.

^f Liv. lib. xxvi cap. 59. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 7.

*Scipio takes
New Car-
thage.*

Scipio, having got his naval force in readiness for sea early in the spring, appointed Tarraco the place of rendezvous for his Spanish allies. Upon their assembling, he ordered the main body of the army to desile from thence towards the Iberus, himself following at the head of five thousand Spaniards. Here he harangued the soldiery, insisting upon those topics that he thought would be the most proper to inspire them with resolution. Then leaving M. Silanus, with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to prevent disorders in those parts of Spain, he passed the Iberus, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. As almost all the riches of Spain were deposited in New Carthage, a city situated, like Old Carthage, upon a peninsula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which last served as a fence to the western and northern parts of the wall, he formed a design to reduce it. He was likewise further excited by the commodiousness of its harbour, which was capacious enough to receive the largest fleet, and so near the coast of Africa, that the Romans, when in possession of it, might easily make a descent on the Carthaginian territories. Mago, who, according to some authors, commanded in the town, or, as Valerius Antias maintains, Arme, upon Scipio's approach, made the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. The Romans, however, not only repulsed the enemy in a sally, but likewise pursued them with such ardour, that had not Scipio ordered a retreat, they would have entered the place pell-mell with the Carthaginians. Their bravery and resolution so intimidated the troops in garrison, that they abandoned many of their posts, and deserted the ramparts. Scipio, therefore, immediately commanded a vigorous attack to be made on those parts of the wall which were most exposed; his fleet at the same time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by assailing the town on the sea-side. After a bloody and obstinate dispute, the Romans carried the place sword in hand. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was so vigorously pressed by the Romans, that he soon found himself obliged to surrender at discretion. Till the surrender of the citadel the slaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was granted, the soldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The Romans made ten thousand freemen prisoners, besides a prodigious number of women, children, and slaves; together with three hundred, or, according to others, seven hundred twenty-five Spanish hostages, whom the Roman general immediately dismissed. They found in the place a hundred and twenty of the greater catapults,

catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the lesser sort; twenty-three of the larger balistæ, fifty-two of the smaller; an inconceivable number of scorpions, arms, and darts of all kinds, together with seventy-four military ensigns. An immense quantity of gold and silver, both in money and plate, fell into Scipio's hands *.

The Carthaginians, for some time, endeavoured to suppress the news of the severe stroke they had received in Spain by the reduction of New Carthage, being apprehensive that, as soon as the Spaniards obtained intelligence of such an unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the Romans; but not being able long to conceal so remarkable a disgrace, they were obliged at last to own it. However, in order to palliate their own shameful behaviour at the last attack, they pretended, that Scipio had stolen the town by surprize; that the conquest was of little importance, although the young commander affected to consider it as equivalent to a signal victory; and that, upon the approach of three Carthaginian generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would be thrown into a panic, and have his mind entirely occupied, by the frightful idea of the havock lately made in his family. Notwithstanding which suggestions, they were perfectly sensible of the great loss they had sustained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of so important a fortress must necessarily have upon their affairs.

Marcellus, after the reduction of Salapia, advancing into Samnium, took Maronea and Melæ, two cities of that country, by assault. Three thousand Carthaginian soldiers, left there by Hannibal, were all put to the sword. He found in the place two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, together with a hundred and ten thousand of barley. The plunder he distributed among the troops; but this could by no means be deemed a sufficient compensation for the terrible defeat Hannibal gave the proconsul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea about the same time. The Roman general, being informed, that the citizens of Herdonea shewed a disposition to abandon the Carthaginian interest, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themselves. Hannibal, by his spies, receiving intelligence of this motion, advanced likewise into the neighbourhood of that city, with such celerity, that Fulvius had no intimation of his approach. However, upon Hannibal's offering battle to the Romans, an engagement ensued, wherein the legionaries behaved

*Hannibal
defeats the
proconsul
Cn. Ful-
vius at
Herdonea.*

* Polyb. lib. x. sub init. Liv. ubi sup. cap. 43, & seq. Appian. in Iberic. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 6.

with great bravery, till the Carthaginian found means to overpower them with his horse. Then they were thrown into confusion, and driven out of the field, with the loss of thirteen thousand men, the rest flying to Marcellus in Samnium by different routes. After this victory, Hannibal burnt the city of Herdonea, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a secret correspondence with Fulvius, as he could discover, and transported most of the citizens to Metapontum and Thurii. Upon the first news of Fulvius's overthrow, Marcellus marched from Samnium into Lucania, to check the progress of the Carthaginian arms, and came up with Hannibal near the town of Numistro. Both sides immediately shewed a disposition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle. Hannibal posted his right wing on an eminence, and Marcellus placed his left close by the town. The action was very sharp, but not decisive, night obliging both sides to retire. Hannibal not judging it expedient to renew the attack next morning, decamped in the night, pursuing his march to Venusia, where, in a few days, the Roman army arrived. Some slight skirmishes happened betwixt the advanced-guards of both parties; but nothing of importance was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conspiracy, formed against the Roman troops in Capua, being detected, the conspirators received condign punishment. Syphax, about this time, sent an embassy to Rome, informing the senate of the advantages he had lately gained over the Carthaginians. Towards the close of this campaign, Hamilcar, with a Carthaginian squadron, consisting of forty galleys, hovered upon the coasts of Sardinia, and ravaged all the country about Olbia and Caralis. The Sicilian banditti, about this time, not only destroyed with fire and sword a great part of Bruttium, but likewise laid siege to the city of Caulonia^a.

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus.

Hannibal, having taken up his winter-quarters near Canusium, endeavoured to excite the people of that city to revolt from the Romans. These intrigues reaching the ears of Marcellus, he advanced to Canusium, encamped opposite Hannibal, and soon found means to draw him to a battle. The two armies, being separated by night, at first parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, Hannibal worsted the Romans. This event extremely chagrined Marcellus, who hitherto had never received any repulse from the Carthaginians: but now, be-

^a Polyb. lib. x. Liv. lib. xxvii. sub. init. Appian. in Hannib. Plot. in Marcel. Orosc. lib. iv. cap. 18.

Gides the field of battle, he lost near three thousand men, amongst whom were four centurions, and two military tribunes, together with six standards taken by the enemy. Being therefore fired with indignation and resentment, he resolved to venture another engagement with Hannibal, who, on his part, seemed determined not to decline the challenge. Marcellus posted the left wing, and those cohorts, that, in the last action, had lost their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed on the right; and appointed Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Nero to command both wings, whilst he himself conducted the main body. Hannibal posted the Spaniards in front, and disposed his other forces in the usual manner. The fight was obstinate and bloody, the Carthaginian elephants overthrowing many of the Roman standards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading a great number under foot: but by the bravery of Decimius Flavius, a military tribune, these furious animals were repulsed: a circumstance which enabled the Romans to drive Hannibal to his camp, after they had laid eight thousand Carthaginians dead upon the spot. Marcellus, however, lost above three thousand men in the action, and had almost all the rest wounded; insomuch that he found himself unable to pursue Hannibal, when his spies informed him, that he was retreating into Brutium. During these transactions, the Hirpini, Lucani, and Volscientes, submitted to the consul Fulvius, delivering into his hands all the troops Hannibal had left in their cities for garrisons. Pactus and Vibius likewise, two of the principal noblemen amongst the Brutii, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the same terms that had been granted to their neighbours. Q. Fabius, the other consul, about the same time, took Manduria, a city of the Salentines, by storm, making four thousand men prisoners of war. After this exploit, Fabius invested Tarentum. As the Carthaginians had no fleet in those seas, having sent all their gallees to the island Corcyra, in order to assist king Philip, then at war with the Ætolians, he found no difficulty in making his approaches by sea as well as by land. Mean while, Hannibal advanced with a strong body of troops to Caulonia; and obliged the Sicilian robbers to retire to an eminence at some distance from the town¹.

An accident, that could not be foreseen, threw Tarentum into the hands of Fabius. The commandant of the Brutian garrison, which Hannibal left for the defence of the place, fell desperately in love with a young maiden,

Fabius takes Tarentum.

¹ Polyb. Liv. Appian. Zonar. ubi supra.

whose brother was a soldier in the Roman army. This person being informed by his sister, in a letter, of the great interest she had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to Fabius, who ordered him to go into the city as a deserter, and to try whether he could not, by his sister's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the Romans into the town. This scheme was happily effected, the Tarentines not being able to oppose the Romans, after they had been deserted by the Brutians. Nico and Democrates, two of the Tarentine leaders, died gloriously, fighting for the liberties of their country; and Philemenus, by whose agency Tarentum had been betrayed to Hannibal, was supposed to have thrown himself headlong from his horse into a well, after the action. Carthalo, who commanded the body of native Carthaginians in the place, was put to the sword, together with a great number of his men, as well as the greatest part of the Tarentines, and many even of the Brutians themselves. All authors agree, that the plunder taken was immense, and even equal to what Marcellus found in Syracuse. The number of slaves made prisoners amounted to thirty thousand. Fabius dismantled Tarentum, and demolished the wall that separated the town from the citadel. About this time Hannibal, having, for a considerable term, surrounded the body of Sicilian banditti posted on the eminence near Caulonia above mentioned, forced them to surrender at discretion ^k.

*Asdrubal
defeated by
Scipio in
Spain.*

The Carthaginians had this year three armies in Spain, commanded by three of their best generals, namely, Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar, Asdrubal the son of Gisco, and Mago. Edeco, or Edefco, a general of great reputation amongst the Spaniards, abandoning the Carthaginian interest about the beginning of the summer, came over to Scipio. His wife and children had been, for some time, in the Roman camp; but a regard to their safety did not so much induce him to act this part, as that sincere affection for the Romans, with which Scipio had inspired all the Spaniards, by his humanity, politeness, and condescension. Indibilis, Mandonius, and most of the other Spanish reguli, charmed with the same amiable qualities, joined Scipio with all their forces. By this accession of strength, that general found himself enabled to hazard an engagement with Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar, who lay encamped near the city of Bxtula. Scipio was impatient of delay, fearing the junction of Asdrubal and his colleagues. The Carthaginian discovered the same eagerness for a battle on his part,

^k Plut. in Fab. Eutrop. Orof. Zonar. ubi supra.

finding the Roman army was daily reinforced by the accession of Spanish troops. Scipio, upon his approach to the Carthaginian camp, detached some parties of his velites to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with some of their advanced-guards, defeated them, pursued them to their camp, and then retreated, without any loss. Animated by this event, he next day attacked the Carthaginians, who, for some time, defended themselves with great bravery, but were at last totally routed. According to Livy, they had eight thousand men killed upon the spot, besides ten thousand foot and two thousand horse taken prisoners. Scipio gave the Carthaginian camp up to his soldiers to be plundered, and released all the Spanish prisoners without ransom; but ordered the Africans to be sold for slaves. Asdrubal, rallying the remains of his shattered army, pursued his march towards the Pyrenees, having sent his elephants that way before. The Spanish princes, who had entered into an alliance with Scipio, received considerable presents for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; Indibilis, in particular, being ordered by the Roman general to choose three hundred horses out of those taken from the enemy for his own use. Notwithstanding the glorious victory Scipio had gained, he returned to Tarraco; a motion which gave the other two Carthaginian commanders an opportunity of joining Asdrubal. At a council of war, each of these generals had his particular province assigned him. Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar was to march into Italy, to assist Hannibal, with all the Spanish forces he could assemble; Asdrubal the son of Gisco was to command the troops lately committed to Mago's conduct, and to retire into Lusitania, in order to avoid an engagement; and Mago was sent to the Balearic islands, with a large sum of money, to make new levies. Masinissa was placed at the head of a choice detachment of three thousand horse, being the flower of the cavalry, in order to support the Carthaginian allies in Hispania Citerior, as well as to destroy the enemy's country with fire and sword. As Scipio, by his generous and affable deportment, seemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the Spaniards, it was judged necessary to make these dispositions, that the Spanish soldiery, in the Carthaginian service, might be drawn immediately either into Gaul, or the remotest part of Spain, where the Romans had not, as yet, obtained any footing¹.

Next year, being the eleventh of the second Punic war, the Carthaginians threatened to ravage the coasts of Italy,

¹ Polyb. lib. x. Liv. ubi supra, cap. 19—25. Appian, in Iberic.

*A party of
Numidians
cut off the
famous
Marcellus,
and dis-
perse the
escort that
attended
him.*

Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet of above two hundred sail; of which design Scipio being apprised, he detached fifty galleies to cruise off the ports of Sardinia, and protect that island from the insults of the enemy. The consul T. Quinctius Crispinus sent for a large train of battering engines from Sicily, intending to form the siege of Locri, his fleet having already blocked up that city by sea; but he abandoned that design on Hannibal's approach to Lacinium, and on receiving advice, that his colleague Marcellus had drawn his forces from Venusia, in order to join him. Hannibal, informed that both the consuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt Bantia and Venusia, marched that way, pitching his camp at a small distance from them. Notwithstanding the summer was so far advanced, the consuls wrote to L. Cincius, ordering him to come with a fleet from Sicily to Locri, a body of Romans from Tarentum being commanded to invest that city by land at the same. This plan being discovered to Hannibal by some Thurians, he formed an ambuscade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thousand to the sword, took twelve hundred prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He afterwards decoyed the two consuls into another ambuscade of Numidian horse, together with M. Marcellus, and A. Manlius, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an escort of two hundred and twenty horse, of which forty were Fregellani, and the rest Etruscans. The brave Marcellus, who had acquired such renown by the several advantages he gained over Hannibal, lost his life, through the cowardice of the Etruscans, who fled at the first attack; but Crispinus, his colleague, and M. Marcellus, his son, escaped in the manner we have already related^a.

*Hannibal
obliges the
Romans to
raise the
Siege of Lo-
cri.*

Mago, the Carthaginian commandant at Locri, found himself so pressed by Cincius, that he was upon the point of surrendering; but receiving advice of the blow Hannibal had given the Romans by the death of Marcellus, he resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Soon after an express arrived from Hannibal, with an account that the Numidian cavalry had already begun their march for Locri; and that himself, with the rest of the army, would follow them with all possible expedition. Upon the approach of the Numidians, Mago sallied with his whole force upon the besiegers, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Numidians coming up in the point of time, forced them to aban-

^a Polyb. ubi supra. Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 23—30. Plut. in Marcello. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 16, 17. Sct. Aurel. Vict. in Marcello.

don their works, and leave all their battering-engines, and other military machines, behind them: so, that Hannibal, upon his arrival at Locri, found no enemy to oppose him. About this time, Valerius, the Roman admiral, after having ravaged the coast of Africa, attacked a Carthaginian squadron of eighty-three gallees off Clupea. The Carthaginians, unable to withstand the efforts of the Romans, were soon obliged to sheer off, with the loss of eighteen ships. From thence steering for Sicily, he arrived in a short time, with an immense booty, at Lilybæum.

Asdrubal, as we have lately observed, being obliged to abandon his camp near Bæcula, had afterwards a conference with the other two Carthaginian generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were settled. In pursuance of the plan then formed, Asdrubal advanced towards the Pyrenees, at the head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. He crossed the Pyrenees without any great difficulty. As the silver-mines (A) near Bæcula had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in Gaul, he not only prevailed upon the Gauls to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise furnished him with a proper number of recruits. The Ligurians received him in the same manner. Asdrubal, therefore, meeting with little opposition, and many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, arrived at Placentia^a sooner than either the Romans, or even his brother Hannibal himself, expected: but, besieging this place, contrary to the rules of sound policy, he gave the Romans an opportunity of assembling all their forces to attack him. At the same time, by his too great security, as well as the siege he had undertaken, he prevented Hannibal from joining him, as he had proposed, upon the first news of his having passed the Alps. Thus Asdrubal not only lost all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendship of the Averni, and other Gallic nations, who had so greatly expedited his passage to Italy, by this single step, but likewise totally ruined the Carthaginian affairs in that country, as will soon evidently appear^b.

*Asdrubal
besieges
Placentia.*

^a Liv. ubi supra, cap. 41—43.

(A) Polybius tells us, that, near New Carthage, there was a silver-mine so rich, that the Carthaginians extracted out of it every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver. Alg.

tes, the discoverer of this mine, was, according to the same author, deified by the Spaniards after his death, for the service he thereby did his country.

*Hannibal
receives
several
blows.*

As soon as Hannibal left his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the Salentines, with an intention to ravage it, before the consul Claudius could take the field: but this misfortune was prevented by the conduct and bravery of C. Hostilius Tubulus, who attacked the Carthaginians with a body of light-armed troops, and entirely defeated them, killing four thousand upon the spot. After this disaster, Hannibal retired into Brutium, to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy, who began to advance against him from all parts. In the mean time Tubulus, with his forces, joined the consular army under Claudius at Venusia. Hannibal, having drawn all his garri- sons out of Brutium, and by this expedient reinforced his army, marched to Grumentum in Lucania, in order to recover some towns that had revolted to the Romans. As, immediately after the late junction, Claudius had sent a detachment, under the command of Tubulus, to reinforce the proconsul Fulvius at Capua, and, with the remaining corps, consisting of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, had himself gone in pursuit of Hannibal, he arrived at Grumentum soon after the Carthaginian, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. Claudius, by stratagem, and the bravery of C. Aurunculeius, tribune of the third legion, gave Hannibal another defeat in this place, cutting off eight thousand of his troops, and taking seven hundred prisoners. Four elephants were likewise killed, and two taken, in the action: nine military ensigns, and some plunder, also fell into the hands of the Romans, who, according to Livy, lost only five hundred men on this occasion. Hannibal, soon after this misfortune, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few Numidian horse in his intrenchments to amuse the enemy, made good his retreat to Venusia; but here the consul again attacked him. At this place the Carthaginians lost two thousand men; upon which disaster, Hannibal retired, with great precipitation, to Metapontum, where he was joined by Hanno, and from thence made the best of his way to Canusium*.

*The consul
Claudius
moves to-
wards his
colleague.*

During these transactions, Asdrubal, being forced to raise the siege of Placentia, began his march for Umbria. Of this the consul Claudius being informed by a letter sent from that general to his brother Hannibal, which was intercepted near Tarentum, he put himself at the head of a detachment of seven thousand men, the flower of his troops, and marched with incredible celerity to join his colleague Livius. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province,

* Liv. ubi supra, cap. 43—45.

to go into that of another, by the Roman laws, yet, in a conjuncture of so delicate and important a nature as this, when the safety, and even the very being, of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no sooner received the letter from L. Virginus, a legionary tribune, who had escorted the Carthaginian couriers with a Samnite detachment to him, and read it, than he sent it to the senate, at the same time dispatching his orders to the Larinates, Marrucini, Frentani, and Præutiani, through whose territories he was to pass, to procure a sufficient quantity of provisions and carriages for his troops, that he might pursue his march without the least interruption. As he thought nothing could save Rome, after the junction of the two Carthaginian armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to strike such a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy. He resolved to join his colleague, and charge Asdrubal with their united forces; and with this view he began his march, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to Q. Cælius, one of his lieutenants.

Claudius gave not the least hint of his design to any of his officers, till he was at such a distance from Hannibal, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill consequence. He then only in general told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that his colleague wanted a reinforcement; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of the day would fall to them. He marched with incredible expedition, and arrived at Sena, where Livius lay encamped within half a mile of the Carthaginians. Soon after his arrival, Asdrubal, reconnoitring the Roman army, perceived several shields of an ancient make, that he had never seen before, many thin, lean horses, which had been greatly fatigued, and discovered that the Roman army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By these, and several other circumstances, that able general suspected Claudius to have joined his colleague with a body of troops. This suspicion threw him into a sort of melancholy, imagining that Hannibal had been overthrown, and consequently that he came too late to support his brother.

Before the arrival of Claudius, the prætor L. Portius Licinus was encamped, with some forces, at a small distance

Yr. of Fl.
2154.
Ante Chr.
194

† Polyb. lib. xi. sub init. Liv. ubi supra, cap. 45—49. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 1. ex. 9.

from

The Romans defeat Asdrubal upon the banks of the Metaurus.

from the consul Livius. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders presided. Livius gave his opinion, that an action, for some days, should be deferred, that Claudius's troops might have time to refresh themselves, after so tedious and fatiguing a march. Claudius himself entertained different sentiments, imagining that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the least delay at this critical juncture. His advice was adopted, and the signal of battle accordingly given: however, Asdrubal, under the apprehensions above mentioned, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain which route to take. He marched at random along the banks of the Metaurus, now the Metaro, and was preparing to cross that river, when the united forces of the enemy intercepted him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible to avoid an engagement; and therefore did all which could be expected from the presence of mind and courage of a consummate warrior. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, composed of Gauls, and the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main body, and right wing, consisting of Spaniards, all veteran troops, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he placed himself in the centre, and first moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the consul Livius, well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle continued a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal especially signalized himself in this engagement. He led on his soldiers, who were trembling and dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words and example, and, with entreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to rally those who fled in disorder: but at last, finding that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal.

This great victory was almost entirely owing to the bravery and activity of Claudius. That general, observing his men did not exert themselves, cried out in an angry tone,

‡ Flor. ubi supra. Eutrop, lib. iiii. cap. 18. Sil. Ital. lib. xv. Appian, in Hannib.

"To what purpose have we made, so long a march with such expedition?" Then he made an effort to possess himself of an eminence that covered the Gauls, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that side; but finding this operation impracticable, he drew out a detachment of some cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to sustain Livius, he charged the Spaniards and Ligurians in front, in flank, and in rear, almost at the same time. The Spaniards and Ligurians, unable to sustain so violent a shock, were soon routed, and almost all cut to pieces; and then the Gauls were massacred without opposition. The leaders themselves destroyed most of the elephants, to prevent the destruction they would have occasioned amongst their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to Livy, fifty-six thousand of Asdrubal's troops fell in this bloody action, and near six thousand were taken prisoners; though Polybius says the whole loss of the Carthaginians did not exceed ten thousand men. Be that as it may, the Romans seemed to have been weary of killing, since when an officer told Livius, after the battle, that it would be an easy matter to cut off a body of Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been in the fight, or escaped out of it, then flying in great confusion, with a small detachment of horse, he answered, "It is fit that some should survive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery." Livy affirms, that the Romans carried off an immense quantity of gold and silver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but Polybius is silent on that head. This action proved decisive, since we may justly affirm it determined the fate of Italy, as the battle of Zama a few years afterwards did that of Africa.

The victory chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of Claudius.

Hannibal received no intelligence of this calamity, till Claudius caused the head of his brother to be thrown into his trenches, immediately after the Roman general arrived at the camp near Canusium: an insult which cannot be excused even as a retaliation of Punic barbarity.

The inhumanity of Claudius censured.

The melancholy news imparted by Claudius, filled Hannibal with horror and despondency. He perceived, by this stroke, the fate of Carthage; and exclaimed, "It is done (A):" I will no longer send triumphant messages to Carthage! In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my

Hannibal greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.

(A) According to Horace, in that ode where this defeat is described.

* Polyb. & Liv. ubi supra. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 7. ex. 15. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7. ex. 4.

good

good fortune!" After this fatal event, he retired to the extremity of Brutium, where, assembling all his forces, he remained, for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the Romans not daring to molest him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though he was pressed on every side, and the Carthaginian affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. Livy says, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Brutium being but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to subsist, especially as no supplies were sent him from Carthage; the people being solicitous to preserve their possessions in Spain, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in Italy, as if Hannibal had met with an uninterrupted course of success, and not the least disaster had befallen them since his first arrival in that country*.

*The Carthaginians
wintered in
Spain.*

After Asdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno had been sent to succeed him in Spain. The body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that commanded by Mago, formed a considerable army. These forces encamped at some distance from a spot where nine thousand Celtiberians were posted. Scipio sent a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of M. Silanus the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity should offer. The proprætor, receiving intelligence of the situation and disposition of both camps from some Celtiberian deserters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was enabled to gain a signal advantage over the enemy. He surprised the Celtiberians, putting many to the sword, and obliging the rest to disperse in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their respective habitations. Hanno and Mago, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewise defeated, and Hanno was taken prisoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a great part of the veteran infantry, made his escape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Asdrubal the son of Gisco. These commanders, with their united forces, continued, for some time, in the neighbourhood of Gades.

Scipio no sooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in Italy than he put himself in motion, and began to meditate the entire conquest of Spain. His brother, L. Scipio, being detached with a body of ten thousand foot,

*Polyb. lib. x. Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 12. Appian. in Hannib.

And a thousand horse, to reduce the city of Aurinx, on the confines of Lower Bætica, executed his orders with great conduct and bravery, making the Carthaginian garrison, and three hundred of the inhabitants, who shut the gates against him, prisoners of war, with the loss only of ninety men. Livy says, that the Roman detachment killed two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that Lucius, in order to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, left the citizens in possession of the town, and all their effects. The territory of Aurinx was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself, Asdrubal had quartered a great number of troops, who had greatly harassed the Romans and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the interior parts of the country. The Carthaginians therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. Scipio is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of New Carthage. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which Gades was seated, since Asdrubal had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, M. Valerius Lævinus the proconsul, who commanded in Sicily, committed great ravages on the coasts of Africa, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about Carthage and Utica, he returned to Lilybæum, defeating, in his passage, a Carthaginian squadron of seventy gallees. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the Romans victorious every-where this campaign, the Carthaginians not being able to oppose them either by sea or land^t.

Next year, Hannibal sent a detachment of Numidians, to observe the motions of the Roman army, under the command of the consuls Q. Cæcilius and L. Veturius, in the territory of Consentia. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to Hannibal's camp. But this trifling advantage did not make amends for the loss of Lucania, which submitted to the Romans.

*Lucania
submits to
the Ro-
mans.*

The Carthaginian generals, who commanded in Spain, were Mago the son of Hamilcar, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco. These two moved in the spring from Gades, with

^t Liv. ubi sup. cap. 4. Appian in Libyc. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 3. ex. 5.

The Carthaginian generals and Masinissa overthrown in Spain by Scipio.

an army of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse. Advancing with expedition towards the Romans, whom they were determined to engage, they encamped in the plains of Silpia, at no great distance from the enemy. Scipio, alarmed at the approach of so formidable a power dispatched Silanus to Colcas, a neighbouring prince, who had promised him a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions. In the mean time he drew his forces out of Tarraco, and, being joined by some of his allies, advanced to Castuló, where he was soon joined by Silanus, with a reinforcement of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from Colcas. From thence he marched to Bætula, or Bæcula, with an army of forty-five thousand men. Mago and Masinissa, at the head of the Carthaginian cavalry, attacked the Romans as they were encamping, and would have put them into disorder, had not Scipio placed some troops of horse in ambuscade behind an eminence, near the spot upon which he intended to encamp. These, sallying out upon the Carthaginians, forced them to retire with precipitation. The light-armed troops on both sides, for some time, skirmished with one another; but without any considerable loss. Both Asdrubal and Scipio, for several days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though Asdrubal appeared first in the morning, and retired the last in the evening. At length Scipio, resolving to give the Carthaginians battle, ordered his men to refresh themselves before day-break; and then sent his horse and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. Asdrubal posted the Spaniards in the wings, the elephants in front, and the Carthaginians, intermixed with the other Africans, in the centre. After having made this disposition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horse in play. Scipio protracted the fight till towards noon, imagining that the Carthaginians must grow faint by that time, as being entirely void of sustenance, and consequently that he should break them without much difficulty. Accordingly, at mid-day, ordering his wings to advance, he attacked Asdrubal's Spanish auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the same time with the velites, sustained by several cohorts, which were commanded to wheel for that purpose. The Spaniards, after some resistance, were routed, the Carthaginian and African forces not being able to support them, since the Spaniards, that formed Scipio's main body, kept them in awe by moving towards them. The elephants occasioned greater confusion in the Carthaginian army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithstanding Asdrubal did his utmost

utmost to animate his men, they were defeated, and pursued by the Romans to their camp, which would have been taken, had not a violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and terminated the action *.

In the night after the battle, Asdrubal caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time Attanes, regulus of the Turdetani, with a considerable body of troops, deserted to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two strong fortresses surrendered to Scipio, who made their garrisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Asdrubal abandoned his camp, and retired with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so harassed his exhausted troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this retreat, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who was so galled in his march, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand, to the sword. These, however, with Asdrubal at their head, gained an advantageous post; where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last Asdrubal, seeing them desert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his escape to Gades. In the mean time Silanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to block up the enemy's troops in the post above mentioned, found means to detach Masinissa their commander from the Carthaginian interest. Mago, after the example of Asdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the Romans. Masinissa, after his late conference with Silanus, by the connivance of that general, passed over into Africa, with some of the leading men of the Massyli, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the least suspicion of the measures he was going to pursue *.

*Masinissa
abandons
the Car-
thaginian
interest.*

In order to serve more effectually the party he intended soon to declare himself in favour of, he made but a short stay in Africa. Having prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he

* Polyb. lib. xi. Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 12—16. Appian. in Iberic. Liv. ubi sup. cap. 5, 16. Polyb. lib. xi. cap. 21. Appian. in Libyc. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 6. sub fin. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. cx. 7.

repaired

*Scipio
brings over
Syphax to
the Roman
interest.*

repaired to Gades, to confer with Mago and Asdrubal on the future operations. Silanus likewise retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his headquarters. Scipio, soon afterwards passing into Africa with two quinqueres, persuaded Syphax, king of the Masa-syli to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Asdrubal was then at Syphax's court, and did his utmost to frustrate the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, besides Gades, in alliance with, or subject to Carthage, were Illiturgis, Castulo, and Astapa. The Romans took Illiturgis by storm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Castulo, in which was a Carthaginian garrison, composed of the fugitives that escaped the carnage in the late defeats, was betrayed by Cerdubellus to Marcus, and Himilco, the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. Marcus then passing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Cirtius, took possession of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Astapa; and, after a warm dispute, reduced it in the manner already related. In the mean time Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as some Spanish troops levied by Hanno, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sucro, during these transactions, mutinied; a report of Scipio's death, which was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion: but the mutineers being, by a rigorous punishment inflicted upon some of their ring-leaders, reclaimed to a sense of their duty, Marcus attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The alliance with Syphax was a point of great consequence to Rome; though it was not effected without some difficulty. Scipio first sent Lælius, with five quinqueres, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to enforce with magnificent presents. Lælius executed his commission with great dexterity, reminding Syphax of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithstanding which representations, Scipio, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit that prince's court in person; where, by his uncommon address, if we believe Livy, he defeated the intrigues of Asdrubal, and put the last hand to the treaty *.

* Liv. ubi sup. cap. 17—32.

Soon after the reduction of Astapa, some deserters arrived from Gades at Scipio's camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garrison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to seize the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time the plot being discovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he seized the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to Carthage. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he descried Lælius's squadron sailing out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for some time, determine whether it would be proper for him to attack the Romans: but this state of suspense afforded Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, so that he was obliged to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coast of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius missed his aim, since Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to Gades; of which circumstance being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to Carteia. From thence he dispatched an express to Marcius, who was advancing with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders, therefore, judging the siege of Gades too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, gave up that design, and in a short time rejoined Scipio at New Carthage.

Scipio sends Lælius to attempt the conquest of Gades.

The disappointment the Romans had experienced in their design upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legionaries, gave Mago hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in Spain; and to excite them to make a vigorous effort, he exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio's death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Suesetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio's severity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were

Scipio gives the Spanish reguli a great overthrow.

Romans, they concluded, that Spanish revolvers would be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated, therefore, by despair, they assembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced against Scipio. That general, marching at the head of his forces with great celerity, at last discovered them posted in a plain surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Iulius with the cavalry to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. This disposition being made, Scipio attacked the reguli, and entirely defeated them, putting almost their whole army to the sword.

*Scipio holds
a conference
with
Masinissa.*

Though Silanus and Masinissa had settled the preliminaries, yet by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred till this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that Masinissa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently desired. Scipio, being informed of this particular, and that Masinissa was at Gades, proceeded thither with a strong escort, purely to have a conference with him. Masinissa, receiving intelligence of this motion from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to send him, with a detachment from the island of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; a service which enabled him to confer with Scipio. Every thing being afterwards settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, Masinissa, in order to deceive Asdrubal, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades.

Gades surrenders to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, being disappointed in the diversion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries, and the rebellion of the Spaniards, ordered Mago to abandon Spain, and sail with all possible expedition to Italy. Mean while he made an unsuccessful attempt upon New Carthage, after which the inhabitants of Gades shut their gates upon him; but their suffrages being sent to excuse this conduct, he ordered them to be scourged and crucified: in resentment of which cruelty they surrendered to the Romans soon after his departure. Before he left them, however, he stripped the inhabitants of all their gold and silver, and even plundered the temples: besides, he received from Carthage a large sum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria. At length he sailed to the Island Pityusa, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions,

and a great number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the Balearic islands, which had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to enter, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to the lesser island, that was extremely fertile, though not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed much zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand recruits².

Next summer Mago landing in Liguria with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, surprised Genoa. From thence he sailed to the coasts of the Ligures *Mago lands on the coast of Liguria.* Alpini, to raise commotions amongst them. The Ingauni, one of their cantons, were then at war with the Epanterii, a sort of highlanders. This quarrel gave Mago an opportunity of seizing upon the town and port of Savo, and stationing ten of his great ships there: he sent the rest of his fleet to Carthage, upon a report that Scipio was going to transport a body of troops to Africa, in order to attack that capital. The plague broke out this year in Bruttium, and made great havock in the Roman and Carthaginian armies.

In the following year advice was brought to Carthage, that an army formed of the Ausetani, Ilergetes, and several other Spanish nations, under the command of Indibilis and Mandonius, had been entirely overthrown by the Romans. Indibilis, it seems, being encouraged by Scipio's departure out of Spain, had excited the people to a second revolt, imagining that now an opportunity offered of rendering himself, with all the other reguli, independent both of the Romans and Carthaginians. To effect this purpose he assembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he advanced into the country of the Sedetani. Here the Roman generals, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thousand to the sword, in which number was Indibilis himself, and taking eight thousand prisoners. Mandonius, and the other authors of this revolt, suffered capital punishment, after a confiscation of

The Spanish reguli receive a second defeat.

² Liv. ubi sup. cap. 36, 37. & Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 10.

all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the Spaniards upon reasonable terms *.

Yr. of Fl.

2156.

Ante Chr.

291.

*Lælius
makes a
descent in
Africa.*

Affairs were scarce settled in Spain, when Lælius made a descent in Africa at Hippo Regius, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This so alarmed the inhabitants, that they dispatched messengers to Carthage, with advice, that Scipio, with the Roman fleet, was arrived on their coasts, and had landed at Hippo a strong body of forces. As a rumour had for some time prevailed at Carthage, that Scipio had already passed into Sicily, the people and senate were thrown into the utmost consternation by these unexpected tidings. The great revolution which had happened in their affairs, the destruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of Syphax, Masinissa, and all their other allies, together with the fickleness and inconstancy of the Africans, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a most dismal prospect, now their metropolis was threatened with a siege. However, when they received intelligence that only Lælius, with an inconsiderable force, had put in at Hippo, in order to make an incursion upon their territories on that side, their fears began to subside. As soon, therefore, as they had recovered from the panic they were thrown into, they began to make the necessary dispositions for their defence. They sent an embassy to Syphax, to attempt retrieving the friendship of that prince, as well as to several other African reguli, who shewed an inclination to join the Romans. They remitted the sum of two hundred talents of silver to Philip, king of Macedon, in order to engage him to cause a division either in Italy or Sicily. They dispatched orders to their generals in Italy to make all possible efforts to keep Scipio at home. Finally, they sent Mago a reinforcement of six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and twenty-five great ships, together with a large sum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer Rome, and join Hannibal. Lælius, having had a conference with Masinissa, wherein that prince gave fresh assurances of his sincere attachment to the Romans, and expressed an ardent desire to see Scipio in Africa, set sail for Sicily, where he arrived, with the immense booty acquired in this expedition.

*Mago re-
ceives a
reinforce-
ment.*

In the mean time the vessels, with the body of troops destined for Italy to reinforce Mago, sailed from Carthage, and after a happy voyage arrived at the port of Savo, where

* Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 2, 3. Appian. in Iberic.

they joined the other Carthaginian squadron. Mago, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the Gauls and Ligurians with the reinforcement and welcome dispatches he had received from Carthage. Whereupon the Gauls sent him provisions, and the new levies for him went on briskly in Liguria: but notwithstanding these happy beginnings, Mago suffered the same fate in Italy, that Aldrubal had experienced before in Spain ^c.

Scipio, and the Roman soldiery, expressed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence Lælius brought from Masinissa encouraged the general to this expedition, as the plunder he carried off with him from Africa excited the troops. However, they were prevented at present by a successful attempt upon the city of Locri. Some workmen, who had served in the Carthaginian garrison of one of the citadels, being taken by a Roman party and brought to Rhegium, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they should expose themselves. This proposal being agreed to, the Romans, by the assistance of these traitors, surprised the citadel in which they were employed; but the Carthaginian garrison in the other, commanded by Hamilcar, defended itself with great bravery till Hannibal advanced to its relief. Upon his approach a warm action ensued, and the Romans would have been totally routed, notwithstanding Scipio came to their assistance, had not they been supported by the people of Locri; but this being the case, and Hannibal receiving a dangerous wound from one of the enemy's scorpions, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire. Scipio, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed garrisons in them; and then immediately made the proper dispositions for carrying the war into Africa ^d.

The Carthaginians mean while were under continual apprehensions of Scipio's making a descent in their neighbourhood. They had posted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the sea, to give them notice of the first appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every courier, for fear he should bring news of the enemy's landing. In this distress it was the general opinion that all possible attempts should be made to detach Syphax from the Roman interest. Both the senate and people thought that a prospect of assistance from him

^c Liv. ubi supra, cap. 3, 4, 5. cap. 6—9. Appian. in Hannib.

^d Polyb. lib. iii. Liv. lib. xxix.

would be the chief inducement to the Romans to invade their dominions in Africa. In order to accomplish this purpose, a lucky incident intervened. Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was at Syphax's court with Scipio, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquisite charms, named Sophonisba. At that time Asdrubal offered this young lady in marriage to Syphax, thinking the match would be a means of uniting him with the Carthaginians. He therefore now, with the same view, waited again upon Syphax; and having inflamed him with a description of the beauty he was to have for his consort, sent for her thither from Carthage to hasten the marriage. Amongst other things, it was stipulated on this occasion, that an offensive and defensive league should be concluded betwixt him and the Carthaginians, in consequence of which he should assist them with all his forces. Asdrubal, not satisfied with this stipulation, being no stranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with Rome, nor to the variable temper of the African Barbarians, thought proper to suggest a measure which would prevent Scipio's landing in Africa, and consequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the Romans. Whilst therefore he was in his first amorous transports, the Carthaginian, by means of his daughter's soothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a threatening letter to Scipio; but this not having the desired effect, that general sailed with a formidable force for Africa, and landed at the Fair Promontory without opposition.

It is intimated by Appian, that Sophonisba was betrothed to Masinissa, who was educated at Carthage, and a prince of the finest accomplishments. Animated by the passion he nourished for a lady of such attractive charms, according to the same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in Spain against the Romans; but this prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition to give any considerable assistance to the Carthaginians, Sophonisba, in defiance of justice, honour, and public faith, was given to Syphax. Masinissa ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, and contributed not a little to the destruction of their republic, as will evidently appear in the sequel of this history. But to proceed to the war in Africa.

As the Carthaginians had seen no Roman army in Africa for fifty years past, the alarm that Scipio's descent occa-

* Polyb. lib. xiv. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 23. Appian. in Libyc. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 20. Polyæn. ubi supra. † Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 11.

soned over the whole country was inexpressible. Wherever that general moved he diffused terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and Carthage in particular was extremely crowded on this melancholy occasion. The gates were shut in the utmost precipitation, detachments posted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city to prevent a surprize; in short, the same dispositions were made as would have been proper in case of an immediate siege. They had no commander of any repute but Asdrubal the son of Gisco, who had been defeated by Scipio in Spain, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw undisciplined troops were incapable of opposing the Roman legionaries. Being apprised of Scipio's arrival at Utica, with his fleet and land-forces, they detached Hanno, a young Carthaginian nobleman, to reconnoitre the enemy, with a body of five hundred horse; who falling in with a detachment of the Roman cavalry, sent by Scipio out to plunder, immediately attacked them, but, after a short dispute, he was cut off, with a considerable number of his men, and the rest dispersed. After this action Scipio ravaged the country to the very gates of Carthage; and possessed himself of an opulent city in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thousand of its principal citizens prisoners. These first instances of success greatly augmented the confusion that had before begun to reign in Carthage, especially when it was known that Masinissa had joined Scipio with a body of two hundred, or, as others assert, two thousand Numidian horse.

The Carthaginians in great consternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

In the room of the horse lately cut to pieces, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raised with surprising expedition, and the command of it given to another Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, who advanced towards Utica, to observe the enemy's motions; but being too weak to undertake any thing against them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he remained inactive, till he was reinforced by some new levies, that his officers were making both in the Carthaginian territories and those of the neighbouring princes. At last, finding his troops to amount to four thousand men, he took post in a town called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. Out of this place Masinissa, who was sent to Salera with a detachment of horse by Scipio for that purpose, found means to draw him, and then, in conjunction with a choice body of Roman cavalry, commanded by Scipio himself, which lay in ambuscade, charged him with such vigour, that he was put to

Masinissa defeats Hanno.

flight, a thousand men falling in the action, and two thousand being either killed or taken prisoners in the pursuit. Most authors relate that Hanno was slain; but Cœlius and Valerius Antias affirm, that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this transaction Scipio put a garrison into Salera, and pushed on the siege of Utica. In the mean time Asdrubal assembled an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, but durst not approach the enemy till the arrival of Syphax, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot and ten thousand cavalry. Scipio being informed of this junction, raised the siege of Utica, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This circumstance revived the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of Syphax their ally, superior to the Romans in the field.

State of affairs in Italy.

In Italy this year, Hannibal gained an advantage over the consul Sempronius; but was himself soon after defeated by that general. The loss the Carthaginians sustained on this occasion, amounted to above four thousand men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. Hannibal, upon this disaster, retired with his army to Croton. The other consul Cethegus in the mean time kept Etruria in awe, and prevented Mago from approaching his brother Hannibal. The Brutians, hearing of the great success of Scipio in Africa, in general abandoned the Carthaginian interest. Some of Hannibal's garrisons they put to the sword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the Romans, they found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the Carthaginians. In the mean time Hannibal repaired to Petelia, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending agents to Rome; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of Numidians; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity, Thurii in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the Carthaginians. These he transplanted to Croton, where he fixed his head-quarters, erect-

ed his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the Romans ².

Scipio having fortified his camp, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of spring. During the winter, Scipio attempted to detach Syphax from the Carthaginians, but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided Scipio would agree to this preliminary, that both parties should recall their armies. This proposal the Roman general, at first, rejected; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, Scipio was informed, that the Carthaginian camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified; and that the Numidian quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were entirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other combustible materials. To which information his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt surprising their camp by stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon was a smooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much superior to that of the Romans. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent ambassadors to the camp, to renew, as was pretended, the conferences, but, in reality, to make such discoveries as would favour the execution of his scheme. These envoys were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues, its form and situation, how far Asdrubal was from Syphax, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time, or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conference, acquainting Syphax, that as his officers had, in a council of war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, and pressed him to push on the war with vigour, he found himself obliged, in compliance with their desire, to pursue the military operations. This declaration extremely mortified both Asdrubal and Syphax, who considered the treaty to be as good as concluded. However,

*Scipio vents
Syphax and
Asdrubal.*

¹ Liv. ubi supra, cap. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 18.

they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to draw, if possible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they should be able to give a good account of them; or, if they should fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to besiege their camp both by sea and land; an enterprize which they imagined themselves capable of executing: but Scipio took his measures so well, that he surprised them in the manner already related. Lælius and Mafiniffa burnt Syphax's camp, as Scipio in person destroyed that of Asdrubal. Their army was entirely ruined, only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with the two commanders, escaping out of so great a multitude. According to Livy, this complete victory was, in a great measure, owing to the wise dispositions of Mafiniffa. The scene exhibited on this melancholy occasion, Polybius tells us, was inconceivably dreadful. Appian relates, that Syphax, having, some time before, shamefully abandoned the Carthaginians, when he had advanced as far as Utica to their assistance, under pretence of repelling a foreign invasion, returned soon after to succour them, and endeavoured to gain Mafiniffa, by promising to give him his choice of three daughters, and to fix him on the throne of the Massæyli. The same author writes, that Scipio offered sacrifices to the deities Audacia and Pavor, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be struck with panic terrors in the night, since they were at that time to begin the attack. Asdrubal made his escape to Anda, where he rallied the remains of his shattered army, consisting chiefly of mercenaries and Numidians; and, having, by his own authority, presented a great number of slaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a considerable corps. Syphax retired to an advantageous post, about eight miles from the field of battle. At Carthage, the suffetes having convened the senate, three motions were made: first, that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio, to treat of a peace with that general; secondly, that Hannibal should be recalled from Italy; thirdly, that, in imitation of the Roman resolution in adversity, they should depend upon themselves, and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to Syphax for farther succours. This last motion being supported by Asdrubal, and the Barcinian faction, was carried; in consequence of which, the new levies went on briskly, and ministers were dispatched to Syphax, who was prevailed upon, by the entreaties and endearments of his beloved Sophoniffa, to join Asdrubal with a large body of forces. In the mean time Scipio advanced to the walls of Carthage, and offered

offered the citizens battle; which they declined. As soon as Asdrubal had left Anda, it surrendered to the Romans. Two other towns of consequence likewise in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make resistance, Scipio carried by assault, and gave up to his soldiers to be plundered. Then he invested Utica, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. In the mean time Asdrubal and Syphax, being joined by a strong body of Celtiberian troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thousand men, with which they moved towards Scipio, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend his lines, left Utica, and advanced to meet them. The Roman army was disposed in the usual manner. On the other side, Asdrubal posted his Carthaginian forces in the right wing; Syphax, with his Numidians, in the left; and the Celtiberians in the centre. The Carthaginians and Numidians were routed at the first onset; but the Celtiberians, being animated by despair, fought with such resolution, that they were almost to a man killed upon the spot. As Scipio had treated them with the utmost lenity after their late revolt, they were sensible the black ingratitude they were now guilty of, deserved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and, finding it impossible to escape by flight, they resolved to die in the field. The obstinacy with which they for some time maintained the dispute, gave many of the Carthaginians and Numidians an opportunity of saving themselves, who must otherwise have been inevitably slain. The day after the battle, Scipio detached Lælius and Masinissa, with the horse and light-armed troops, to pursue Syphax and Asdrubal; whilst himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage^b.

Immediately after this defeat, the senate and suffetes of Carthage came to a resolution to recall Hannibal from Italy, upon whose veteran troops, and their fleet; together with the powerful assistance of Syphax, they were convinced, their preservation absolutely depended. Their fleet therefore having failed in the important enterprize above mentioned, Syphax being taken prisoner, his country conquered, and Hannibal as yet at a great distance, they had no other resource left, than to sue to Scipio for peace. To this measure they were farther impelled, by that general's encamping again at Tunes, within sight of their capital. They

The Carthaginians sue to Scipio for peace.

^b Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 4—10. Polyb. lib. xiv. Appian. in Libyc. Dio Cass. in Excerpt. Valef. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 18. S. Jul. Front. Strat. lib. i. cap. 1. ex 3. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 20. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 12.

therefore

therefore deputed thirty of their principal senators, selected for that purpose out of the centumvirate, to wait upon Scipio. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, kissed his feet, and addressed him in the most submissive terms. They accused Hannibal, and the Barchinian faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confessed they had broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the Romans, and that they deserved whatever punishment that nation should think proper to inflict. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited destruction by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the Roman clemency, promising at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. Scipio replied, that though he had come into Africa, not for peace, but conquest, which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all nations might see the strict justice of the Romans, both in undertaking and concluding their wars, he would grant them peace upon the following terms: 1. They should deliver up all the Roman prisoners and deserters to him. 2. They shall recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul. 3. They shall never set foot again in Spain. 4. They shall abandon all the islands between Italy and Africa. 5. They shall put the victors in possession of all their ships, twenty only excepted, which they shall be allowed to retain for their own use. 6. They shall give to the Romans five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay five thousand talents, or, as others maintain, five thousand pound weight of silver. He gave them three days to consider of these conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till Hannibal's arrival. A truce being granted the Carthaginians, they immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time dispatched an express to Hannibal, to hasten his return to Africa. Appian intimates, that, besides the articles above mentioned, Scipio insisted upon a compliance with the two following: that Masinissa should not only keep possession of his own kingdom, but as many of Syphax's territories, as he should be able to conquer; and that the Carthaginians should not extend their dominions beyond the Fossa Punica: but these, and other points, wherein that author differs from Livy and Polybius, seem not so agreeable to truth, as what has been transmitted to posterity by those two celebrated historians.

*Mago
over-
thrown in
Insubria.*

During these transactions, Mago advanced into Insubria, where he met the Roman forces under the command of M. Cornelius and P. Quintilius Varus. A general action soon ensued between the two armies, wherein the Cartha-
ginians

ginians were defeated. However, Mago performed the part of a consummate general, distinguishing himself greatly throughout the whole action; but, being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, an accident which threw his troops into such confusion, that a great part of them immediately quitted the field. Five thousand Carthaginians fell in this battle, and eighteen of their standards were taken: but this victory cost the Romans dear; for they lost two thousand three hundred men, besides the best part of the twelfth legion. Mago, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the Ingauni, which was one of the maritime parts of Liguria, where he found a courier bringing him orders to return directly to Carthage¹.

The Romans being every where victorious, Consentia, Uffugium, Vergæ, Belidizæ, Hetriculum, Syphæum, Argentanum, Dampetia, and other towns in Bruttium, opened their gates to the consul Cn. Servilius. This was the situation of affairs, when Hannibal was commanded to return to Africa. Valerius Antias asserts, that, just before his departure, Hannibal was defeated by Servilius near Croton; and that, on this occasion, he lost five thousand men: but Livy, partial as he is, treats this account as little better than a fiction. When the messengers from Africa informed Hannibal of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears: "Now (said he), those persons, who have long endeavoured to drag me out of Italy by denying me proper supplies, send me direct and explicit orders to return. Hannibal is not vanquished by the Romans, but by the senate of Carthage. Scipio has not so much reason to exult at my being forced from Italy as Hanno, who, for want of other means of effecting it, has completed the ruin of my family by the destruction of Carthage." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to Africa. These he embarked, after having massacred a body of Italian troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of Juno Lacinia. Never banished man, according to Livy, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as Hannibal expressed in quitting that of the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men, and calling down a thousand curses upon himself, for his not having, after the battle of Cannæ, advanced to the walls of Rome at the head of his army, still

Yr. of Fl.
2158.
Ante Chr.
190.

Hannibal
recalled
from Italy.

¹ Polyb. & Appian, ubi supra. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 18.

reeking with the blood of its citizens. Appian writes, that Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with Carthage, before Hannibal's departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects with the most inhuman brutality^k.

The Carthaginians break the truce Scipio granted them.

The Carthaginian ambassadors, about this time, arrived at Rome, where they experienced but a very indifferent reception. The conscript fathers, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by these ambassadors in vindication of their republic, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, to the treaty of Lutatius, referred the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being upon the spot, could best judge what suited the welfare of the state. However, the Romans plainly discovered, from the conduct of their ministers on this occasion, as well as their recalling the troops, that, notwithstanding their pretended desire of peace, the Carthaginians would be averse to an accommodation, as soon as they received intelligence of Hannibal's landing in Africa. They were confirmed in the sentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at Rome, importing, that the Carthaginians, in violation of the truce which they themselves had so earnestly desired, had seized a great number of ships on the coast of Africa, near the island Algimurus. They also received advice, that the enemy had even attacked the galley which carried the Roman ambassadors to Carthage, in the river Bagrada, within sight of Scipio's camp. Such a procedure could not but exasperate the two nations against each other more than ever; the Romans, from the strong desire they must have had to revenge such enormous perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect peace^l.

Hannibal makes proposals of peace to Scipio.

Hannibal had no sooner landed in Africa, than he sent out parties to procure provisions for the army, and buy horses to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the Atreacidæ, a Numidian tribe, living near Adrumetum. Four thousand of Syphax's horse, then in the service of Masinissa, came over in a body to him; but as he did not repose any confidence in them, he put them all to the sword, and distributed their horses amongst his troops. Vermina, one of Syphax's sons, and Mesetulus, another Numidian prince, likewise joined him with a very considerable body of horse. Most of the fortresses in Masinissa's kingdom either surrendered to him upon the first

^k Polyb. lib. xv. Liv. ubi supra, cap. 20. & seq. Appian in Hannib. ^l Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 24, 25. Appian. in Libyc.

summons, or were taken by storm. Naxos, a city of considerable strength, he made himself master of by stratagem. Tychæus, a Numidian regulus, and faithful ally of Syphax, whose territories were famous for an excellent breed of horses, reinforced him also much about the same time with two thousand of his best cavalry. Hannibal advanced to Zama, a town about five days march from Carthage, where he encamped. He thence sent out spies to observe the posture of the Romans: these being brought to Scipio, he was so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, according to the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order to take an exact survey of it, and then dismissed them unhurt. Hannibal, admiring the noble confidence of his rival, sent a messenger to solicit an interview with him; which by means of Masinissa he obtained. The two generals, therefore, escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at Nadagara, where, by the assistance of two interpreters; they held a private conference. Hannibal flattered Scipio in the most refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all those topics which he thought could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms: amongst other things, he declared that the Carthaginians would willingly confine themselves to Africa, since such was the will of the gods, in order to procure a lasting peace, whilst the Romans would be at liberty to extend their conquests to the remotest nations. Scipio answered, that the Romans were not excited by ambition, or any sinister views, to undertake either the former or present war against the Carthaginians, but by justice, and a proper regard for their allies. He also observed, that the Carthaginians had, before his arrival in Africa, not only made him the same proposals, but likewise agreed to pay the Romans five thousand talents of silver, restore all the Roman prisoners without ransom, and deliver up all their gallies. He added, that the late perfidious actions of the Carthaginians ought to be so far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the Romans thought themselves authorized to impose more rigorous conditions upon them; which, if he would submit to, a peace might ensue: if not, the decision of the dispute must be left entirely to the sword^m.

This conference, betwixt two of the greatest generals the world ever produced, ending without success, they both retired to their respective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of Rome and Carthage, but

^m Polyb. lib. xv. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 29—32. Appian in Libyc.
that

The disposition of the Roman and Carthaginian armies at the battle of Zama.

that of the whole world, was to be determined by them next day. Accordingly in the morning both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after having animated their men to make their utmost efforts, by urging all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great resolution in the plains of Zama. Scipio posted the *hastati*, divided into small battalions, with proper spaces between them, in front; after them, the *principes* divided in the same manner; and the rear was brought up by the *triarii*. The Italian horse, under the conduct of Lælius, he placed in the left wing; and the Numidian cavalry, commanded by Masinissa, in the right. By this disposition, which differed in some degree from that which the Romans usually made, a proper precaution was taken against the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwise have undoubtedly borne down the *principes*. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void spaces between the battalions, if they found themselves overcharged by the enemy, or pushed by their elephants, and that the most expeditious of them should continue their retreat to the rear of the army; while those who were wounded, or slower in their motion, should save themselves in the interval between the *hastati* and *principes*, or that between the *principes* and *triarii*. Hannibal, on the other side, posted eighty elephants in front. Behind him he placed his van-guard, consisting of Ligurian, Gallic, Balearic, and Mauritanian mercenaries. Then followed the main body, composed of four thousand Africans and native Carthaginians, sustained by a body of four thousand Macedonian veterans, furnished by king Philip; and, at a furlong's distance, were stationed those brave troops, that had served under him in Italy, forming his rear, in which he reposed his greatest confidence. The Carthaginian cavalry were opposed to Lælius; and the Numidian, under Tychæus and Mefetulus, to Masinissa.

The battle of Zama.

Some time before the action the Numidian horse on both sides skirmished with inconsiderable loss. After which prelude, pursuant to Hannibal's orders, the elephants advanced against the enemy; but those distributed in the left wing being frightened by the sound of trumpets and other martial music, fell back upon the Numidian horse, and put them in disorder. Masinissa immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants that attacked the Roman light-armed

• *Idem ibid.*

troops,

troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the Carthaginian horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they received the same rough treatment from Lælius that the Numidians had before suffered from Masinissa. In the mean time the infantry on both sides engaged with unparalleled bravery. Hannibal's mercenaries at first repulsed the legionaries: but these last being firmly supported by the principes, not only recovered themselves, but routed the mercenaries, and pushed them on the Carthaginians; a circumstance which occasioned the defeat of both bodies, and in a great measure determined victory to declare for the Romans. The corps de reserve, formed of Hannibal's veterans, that had served under him in Italy, behaved with inexpressible intrepidity and resolution; but Lælius and Masinissa returning from the defeat of the enemy's horse, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before seemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore defeated, and the ground was strewed with their dead bodies, most of them being either killed in the battle or pursuit. Appian relates, that during the heat of the action Hannibal first engaged Scipio, and afterwards Masinissa, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the same author the Carthaginians had twenty-five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Livy and Polybius affirm, that twenty thousand of Hannibal's men were killed, and as many taken prisoners; as likewise that a hundred and thirty standards fell into the enemy's hands. Some say the Romans lost only two thousand men; others, that two thousand five hundred Romans, and a greater number of Masinissa's soldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it may, Scipio obtained a complete victory, and made himself master of Hannibal's camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thousand five hundred of silver, and an immense quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work.

Hannibal, having escaped to Thon, was soon joined by some Brutian and Spanish fugitives, who had been too swift for their pursuers; but not willing to trust himself in their hands, he fled privately to Adrumetum. The surprising military genius of that most renowned general never more eminently displayed itself than at the battle of Zama, as we learn from Polybius, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occasion. Scipio himself likewise, according to Livy, passed a high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement

*Hannibal's
excellent
conduct at
that battle.*

rangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vastly inferior to the enemy in horse, and the state of Carthage obliging him, at no small disadvantage, to hazard a battle with the Romans, he met with the fate already mentioned^a.

Yr. of Fl.
160.
Ante Chr.
183.

*A peace
concluded
between
the Romans
and Car-
thaginians.*

The senate of Carthage, hearing of Hannibal's arrival at Adrumetum, dispatched messengers to him, with orders to return to Carthage. He obeyed these orders, and advised his countrymen to conclude a peace with the Romans upon the terms they should think proper to prescribe. To this measure they were the more strongly excited by the intelligence they received of the defeat of Vermina, the son of Syphax, their ally. This blow was very severe, fifteen thousand of that prince's men being left dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made prisoners, and fifteen hundred Numidian horses, together with seventy-two military ensigns, taken. After this disaster the Carthaginians sent ten of their principal citizens to implore Scipio's clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, that they might meet with him at Tunes. However, thirty Carthaginian senators, selected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon Scipio, and imploring peace in the most submissive terms, that general dictated the following conditions: 1. The Carthaginians shall be governed by their own laws, and remain in possession of all their African dominions. 2. The Carthaginians shall deliver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal forced to follow him, within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 3. They shall also surrender all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those animals for the service. 4. The senate and people of Carthage shall not engage in any war without the consent of the Romans. 5. They shall supply the Roman troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors they shall send to Rome. 6. They shall pay the Romans, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand Euboic talents, at equal payments. 7. They shall deliver to Scipio a hundred such hostages as he shall chuse, the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, and the oldest not above thirty years of age. 8. Neither the peace nor truce shall take place till the Carthaginians have restored the ships and effects taken from the Romans during the last truce. 9. The Roman armies shall leave Africa within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. 10. The Carthagi-

^a Polyb. Liv. Appian. Flor. Aur. Vict. Corn. Nep. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 14. Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 23. Plut. in Hannib. Prof. lib. iv. cap. 19.

nians shall restore to Masinissa all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 11. They shall never for the future make any levies in Gaul or Liguria. 12. They shall assist the Romans both by sea and land, whenever they are called upon. These terms, which Scipio thought proper to grant the Carthaginians in case the senate and people of Rome would ratify them, appeared so intolerable to the populace of Carthage, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility; but Hannibal, having assembled a body of six thousand foot and five hundred horse at Marthama, prevented an insurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, Gisco, an enemy to the Barcinian faction, made a speech to the senators in order to dissuade them from accepting such a shameful peace. Hannibal, being highly incensed at his presumption, dragged him from his seat; and in order to vindicate, or at least palliate such violence, spoke to this effect: "As I left your city at nine years of age, and did not return till after thirty-six years absence, I had full time to learn the military art, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in it; but with regard to your constitution it is no wonder that I am a stranger to it, and therefore I must desire you to instruct me in every branch of it." He then insisted upon the necessity of concluding a peace; adding, that they ought to return the gods thanks for having disposed the Romans to grant them such favourable conditions. He likewise represented to the senators the importance of uniting their suffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal consequence to the state, if, by their divisions, they should throw more weight into the popular scale, which already preponderated too much. The whole assembly, therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking such an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms proposed by Scipio were accepted. Ample satisfaction having been made the Romans for the outrages offered their ministers, and the infraction of the late truce, the Carthaginians dispatched an embassy, at the head of which was Aldrubal, surnamed Hoedus, or the *kid*, to Rome. As he was an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his family, he endeavoured to excuse the people of Carthage, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the Barcinian faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of Hanno, towards Rome. He likewise expatiated upon the generosity, magnanimity, wisdom, and humanity of the Romans; whilst his companions endeavoured to move the senate to compassion, by exhibiting the calamitous state of

Carthage in the most lively colours. By these methods of persuasion they not only prevailed upon the conscript fathers to grant their request, but likewise to send two hundred of their prisoners, then at Rome, to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored, without any pecuniary consideration, as soon as he should receive from the Carthaginians the ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the Carthaginians obtained of Scipio upon the return of their ambassadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had prescribed. They then, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered up to Scipio above five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of Carthage, to the inexpressible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewise surrendered into the hands of the Romans all their elephants, slaves, deserters, and prisoners of war. The number of these last amounted to above four thousand men. Scipio treated both the Latin and Roman deserters with extreme severity, ordering the heads of the former to be struck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at Carthage being exhausted by so long and expensive a war, the senate found it almost impracticable to raise a sum sufficient for the first payment of the tribute imposed by the treaty. This difficulty threw them into a melancholy silence, and many could not even refrain from tears. Livy relates, that Hannibal, laughing on this occasion, was reproved by Asdrubal Hædus for insulting his country in the time of its affliction, which, he insinuated, was owing to his conduct. Hannibal, in reply, apologized for his behaviour to that august assembly. Thus ended the second Punic war, which raged eighteen years without intermission.

The Romans force the Carthaginians to make a dishonourable peace with Masinissa.

After the conclusion of the last treaty, Hamilcar, a Carthaginian captain, left in those parts either by Asdrubal or Mago, excited the Insubres, Cœnomani, and the Bœii, together with the Sallyi, Ilvates, and other cantons of Liguria, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of Rome. Of these hostilities the senate immediately informed the state of Carthage, threatening at the same time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not given up. What answer the Carthaginians returned to this menace, we no where find; but the death of Hamilcar, who was soon after killed in a battle he fought with Fulvius Purpureo the prætor, put an end to all farther dispute betwixt the Carthaginians and the Romans on this head. The peace betwixt Carthage and Rome was scarce signed, when Masinissa, at the instigation of the Romans, unjustly reduced part of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, under pretence

pretence that those territories formerly belonged to his family. The Carthaginians, through the mediation of the Romans, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourse, found themselves under a necessity of ceding those countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good understanding afterwards betwixt these two powers continued many years; but at last Masinissa violated the treaties subsisting betwixt him and the Carthaginians, and greatly contributed to the subversion of the African republic.

In the following year the Carthaginians sent fifty Euboic talents of silver to Rome, in pursuance of the late treaty; but the silver not being good, the quaestors refused it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the Carthaginian ministers were obliged to borrow a sum of money at Rome to make up the deficiency. At their request, half their hostages were released, and hopes given them that the others should soon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hostages desiring to be removed from Norba, which they represented as a place very inconvenient to reside in, the senate immediately sent them to Signia and Ferentinum. From hence they were removed to Setia, where their domestics occasioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill consequence to the Romans; but how this accident affected the state of Carthage, we are not informed. According to Appian, the trade of the Carthaginians began, even at this time, to flourish, notwithstanding their shipping had so lately been destroyed. A remarkable proof of the surprising genius of that people for commerce, even in their most depressed and miserable condition!

Not long after the transactions just hinted at, Livy writes, that Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, commanded an army of Gauls that was defeated by Cethegus; and that this general himself was taken prisoner in the action: but whether any, or how many, Carthaginian troops assisted the Gauls on this occasion, or what influence that event had upon the Carthaginian affairs, history is silent. In the mean time Hannibal kept up his credit at Carthage. Although he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite scheme, the republic gave him the command of an army destined to act against some neighbouring African powers; and from Cornelius Nepos it seems probable, that he made

The Carthaginians send fifty Euboic talents to Rome, in pursuance of the late treaty.

Hannibal reforms some abuses at Carthage, and afterwards flies to Antiochus, king of Syria.

^p Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 20, 21, 32. & lib. xl. cap. 24. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 15. Appian. in Libyc. ^q Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 2, 16. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 16. Appian. ubi sup.

some campaigns after the conclusion of the second Punic war. These efforts gave such umbrage to the Romans, that, notwithstanding the Carthaginians made them a present of a golden crown, and thanked them in a most humble manner for the peace they had granted, they refused to release the Carthaginian prisoners still detained in Italy. The senate, indeed, at the request of the ambassadors, who came with the compliment to Rome, allowed the Carthaginian hostages to reside in what city of Italy they chose for their habitation; and assured the ambassadors, that this instance of their republic's friendship was very acceptable to that assembly: but, with regard to the prisoners, the conscript fathers declared, that they would not dismiss them, as long as Hannibal, their most avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in Africa. Upon this remonstrance, the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal, and conferred upon him the office of prætor; which seems to have been an employment of great consideration and authority. In this post Hannibal gained universal applause. He regulated the finances in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the deplorable state to which Carthage was reduced, considerable sums were laid up yearly for the public service, after the payment of the tax to the Romans, imposed by the last treaty. As such a laudable conduct must have been founded upon a reformation of many abuses, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many; but neither this, nor the animosity of the old Hannonian faction, which was far from being extinguished, prevented him from pursuing measures necessary for the service of the republic with zeal and resolution. He was not satisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a proper footing: he was equally impatient to rectify the irregularities which had crept into the administration of justice. As the judges exercised the most cruel rapine with impunity, disposing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and reputations of the citizens, without the least control, since they held their offices for life, and mutually supported one another, Hannibal resolved to redress so glaring an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity, effected the passing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond their year. This step greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleased the populace, of Carthage. His reputation and authority amongst the latter were raised to a higher pitch by the method he devised to complete the regulation of the finances. The public revenues had been embezzled by those who had the management of them,

and

and some of the leading men in the city; so that the senate and suffetes were obliged to think of levying the annual tribute due to the Romans upon the people; which scheme Hannibal prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the collusions of those possessed of other lucrative posts. It is no wonder, therefore, that persons of this complexion should exert their utmost malice to ruin a man, however laudably disposed to the public, who, they had the assurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they considered their long-continued peculation. In order to gratify their resentment, they excited the Romans to pursue Hannibal to destruction. Accordingly C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo were sent to Carthage, on pretence of accommodating all differences betwixt the Carthaginians and Masinissa, but, in reality, to ruin Hannibal, who, they asserted, carried on a secret intelligence with king Antiochus, in order to concert with him the proper measures for prosecuting the war against the Romans. Hannibal, upon their arrival, notwithstanding their specious pretexts, knew the subject of their commission, and thought it prudent to submit to the necessity of the times. Having, therefore, made the proper dispositions for his departure, in order to deceive his countrymen, in the dusk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dress, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his design. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the assistance of which, passing the Voccan district, he arrived at a castle, or palace, of his own, between Acholla and Thapsus. From thence he was wafted over in a vessel, that waited for him, to the island Cercina. There he had recourse to a stratagem, to conceal his retreat from Carthage, which had the desired effect. The populace of Carthage, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been assassinated by the Roman faction. However, at last time discovered the truth, the senate receiving certain intelligence, that he was seen in the island Cercina. The Roman ambassadors insisted upon the senate's making a public declaration against the project he was gone upon. In order to impose upon the masters of ships at that time in the island Cercina, he published, that the republic of Carthage had sent him on an embassy to Tyre. Livy tells us, that he was not so much affected with the prospect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities which

threatened his country. From Cercina he steered his course for Tyre, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of distinction due to his exalted merit. After staying some days in that city, he proceeded to Antioch, and had a conference with Antiochus's son at Daphne, where he was celebrating some solemn diversions. From thence he posted to Ephesus, where he met with a most kind reception from that prince himself, whom he engaged to enter upon a war with Rome, after he had been for some time in a fluctuating state on that head. Tully informs us, that, during his residence at this court, a philosopher, named Phormio, esteemed the best orator in Asia, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, Hannibal was asked his opinion of it. The Carthaginian frankly replied, that in his time he had seen many old dotards, but none that came up to Phormio. Stobæus informs us, that this Phormio was a Stoic philosopher; and that when he undertook to prove that a wise man only was fit to be a general, Hannibal laughed, being convinced that skill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but practice. The Carthaginians, being apprehensive that, by Hannibal's intrigues, they might be embroiled with the Romans, informed them, that he was withdrawn to the court of Antiochus.

*Hannibal
endeavours
to embroil
his country-
men with
the Ro-
mans, but
in vain.*

Hannibal's constant opinion was, that Italy should be made the seat of war. To enforce this maxim, he observed to Antiochus, that Italy would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the Romans were permitted to transport their Italian forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to sail to Carthage, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of a hundred ships, and a body of eleven thousand land-forces. With these troops, he proposed making a descent in some part of Italy; whilst the king should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be found convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, Antiochus would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace as the Romans thought fit to impose. That prince at first approved very much of Hannibal's proposal; a circumstance which induced that general to dispatch Aristo, a Tyrian, to Carthage, in order to engage the senate more strongly in his interest. To se-

cure

cure the fidelity of this person, Hannibal made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in Antiochus's name, in case he happily executed his commission. Aristo was no sooner arrived at Carthage, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the Barcinian faction, the suspicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent presumption of his guilt: he was seized, and called upon to clear himself, but he did not acquit himself to the satisfaction of the predominant party. Great debates arose in the senate concerning him. Some members were for treating him as a spy; but others thought this might be a dangerous precedent, as no evidence could be produced against him. Besides, they observed, that as such an action could be considered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hospitality, the Tyrians would not fail making reprisals upon the subjects of Carthage residing in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till next day; a delay which gave the crafty Tyrian an opportunity of escaping privately in the night. Before his departure, he left in the public hall, where justice was administered, a writing that fully declared the reason of his coming to Carthage. The senate, to shew how religiously they intended to observe the last treaty, immediately sent advice of this transaction to the Romans'.

In consequence of this intelligence, the Romans nominated P. Sulpicius and P. Villius their ambassadors to Antiochus, ordering them to take Pergamus in their way, that they might confer with Eumenes, a violent enemy of Antiochus, who resided in that city. Sulpicius was detained at Pergamus by indisposition; but Villius, in pursuance of his orders, repaired to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to shew him a particular esteem on all occasions; but his chief aim, by all this insidious behaviour, was to render him suspected, and lessen his credit with the king; in which endeavours he succeeded too well, as afterwards manifestly appeared. Livy tells us, that the only end of Villius's conversation with Hannibal was to sound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans. Claudius, on the authority of the Greek annalist Acilius, affirmed, that Scipio was joined with Sulpicius and Villius in this embassy, and even transmitted to posterity some of the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the Roman mini-

*Hannibal
confers
with Vil-
lius and
Scipio.*

sters and Hannibal. According to these authors, Scipio desired Hannibal to declare, who, in his opinion, was the most celebrated general in history. The Carthaginian replied, Alexander king of Macedon, because, with an inconsiderable body of troops, he had defeated most numerous armies, and extended his conquests into countries so widely distant, that it seemed impossible for any man even to traverse them. Being then asked, who was the next to him, he answered Pyrrhus, who first understood the art of encamping to advantage: "Nor did ever any commander," continued he, "make a more judicious choice of posts, or better understood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind." Scipio then demanding whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no scruple of mentioning himself. Here Scipio not being able to refrain from laughing, "But what would you have said," added he, "had you vanquished me?" "I would," replied Hannibal, "have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced."

*Hannibal removes
some suspi-
cions Antio-
chus had
entertain-
ed of him.*

Antiochus, having entertained a suspicion of Hannibal, since his late conferences with Villius, would not, for some time, admit him into his councils. This slight, at first, Hannibal disregarded: but afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cause of such a sudden change in the king's conduct, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself, he intreated that prince to discover the reason of his late coldness; which having learned, he addressed himself to Antiochus in the following terms: "My father Hamilcar, Antiochus, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, to take an oath always to bear an implacable aversion to the Romans. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war with them six-and-thirty years; prompted by this animosity, I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and taken sanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, should you frustrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of the globe, and endeavour to rouse up all nations against the Romans. If any of your favourites therefore would raise their credit with you by calumniating me, let them seek other methods of advancing themselves. I hate mortally the Romans, and am equally hated by them. I appeal to the manes of my father Hamilcar, and all the deities, who were witnesses of my oath. So long therefore as you are disposed to come to a rupture with the Romans,

* Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 14. & seq. Polyb. lib. iii. p. 166, 167. Plut. in Flamin. & in Pyrr.

you may rank Hannibal amongst your best friends : but, if any considerations should incline you to peace, I desire to be entirely excluded from your councils." This speech, uttered with such force and energy, and expressive of so much sincerity; removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; so that Hannibal was not only restored to favour, but preparations were made to execute the scheme he had formed¹.

Though the king had resolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his ministers, the equipment of it was not only at first retarded, but even the expediency of putting the Carthaginian in that post debated in council. In short, the malicious suggestions of Thoas the Ætolian, the effect of pure envy, made such an impression upon Antiochus, that he dropt the design, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarrassed the Romans. Some time after, the Carthaginians offered to supply the Romans with a million of bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand bushels of barley, as a free gift: they also proposed to equip a fleet at their own expence for their service; and to remit to Rome at once the remainder of the sum imposed upon them by the late treaty. The Romans gave their ambassadors a kind reception, and told them, that they should only require from their principals the ships which their late engagements obliged them to furnish; that they would pay ready money for whatever supplies of corn they should send; and that the sum, due from Carthage, should be paid in the manner stipulated by the last treaty. From this incident, we may form some sort of an idea of the incredible industry of the Carthaginians, as well as of their surprising genius for trade.

*Antiochus
deserts
Hannibal.*

Some time after, Antiochus found his affairs in such a perplexed situation, that he was at a loss what measures to pursue. In this emergency, his ministers were obliged to have recourse to Hannibal. That renowned general, forgetting the ill usage he had received, appeared as much disposed to assist the distressed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations taken place. He drew up a scheme, that would probably have extricated him out of all difficulties, had it been immediately put in execution: but though the speech Hannibal made on this occasion was received by the Syrian ministry with great applause, yet they still continued deaf to all his salutary admonitions².

*Hannibal's
advice to
him.*

¹ Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 19. Polyb. lib. xv. & lib. iii. Sex. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 8. ex. 7.

² Liv. ubi sup. cap. 7.

After

*Hannibal
defeated in
a sea en-
gagement.*

After Antiochus was forced to abandon Europe, by the victorious arms of the Romans, he retired to Ephesus. Here he, for some time, resided, without any apprehensions of danger, his flatterers persuading him, that the enemy never durst pursue him into Asia. Hannibal, being now in great esteem at that prince's court, thought it just to undeceive him in a point of such importance. In consequence of which, Antiochus made the necessary dispositions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great Hannibal himself, was defeated by that of the Rhodians, commanded by Eudamus, off Sida, on the coast of Pamphylia, and miserably shattered. However, the Rhodians suffered extremely in the action. The ill success of this engagement was entirely owing to the cowardice of Apollonius, one of Antiochus's admirals, who fled, with the squadron he commanded, almost in the beginning of the fight. Notwithstanding which unfavourable incident, Hannibal made an excellent retreat, the enemy being scarce in a condition to pursue him. However, the Rhodians detaching Chariclitus with twenty beaked ships to Patara, and Megiste, a small island, with a commodious port, in the sea of Lycia, prevented the junction of Hannibal's gallies with the other divisions of the Syrian squadron. In short, after a series of misfortunes, Antiochus found himself obliged to send Zeufis, the governor of Lydia, and his son Antipater, to the Roman camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans; with which Antiochus was forced to comply. Hannibal, foreseeing what would happen, had retired to the island of Crete. It appears from Scipio Nasica's speech in Livy, that Hannibal was a general in the Syrian army at the battle of Magnesia; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he was present in all the principal actions that happened between the Romans and Antiochus.

*Hannibal
is obliged
to fly to
Crete;*

Hannibal, upon his arrival in Crete, took sanctuary amongst the Gortynii; but having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the Cretans, he judged it would be proper to have recourse to stratagem, in order to secure himself; especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the Cretans were informed of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of Diana, in the presence of the Gortynii, with whom he said he trusted all his treasure. Justin affirms, that he left this deposit as a security

for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. However, he conceal'd his riches in hollow statues of brass, which, according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others assert, expos'd to view in a place of public resort as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a profess'd friend to the Romans. A rupture soon commenced, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, Hannibal is said to have given Eumenes several defeats, and reduced him to great difficulties, more by force of genius, and dint of conduct, than superiority of strength *.

and afterwards to Prusias, king of Bithynia.

The Romans, receiving intelligence of the important services Hannibal had done Prusias, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, sent T. Quintius Flaminius thither as their ambassador. Flaminius, at his first audience, complain'd of the protection Prusias gave Hannibal, representing that general as the most inveterate and implacable enemy the Romans ever had; as one who had ruin'd both his own country and Antiochus, 'by drawing them into a destructive war with Rome. Prusias, in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround Hannibal's house, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The Carthaginian, having before discover'd that no confidence was to be repos'd in Prusias, had contriv'd seven secret passages from his house; to evade the machinations of his enemies: but guards being posted on these, he could not fly, though, according to Livy, he attempted it. Perceiving therefore no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to poison, which he had long reserv'd for this melancholy occasion. This taking in his hand, " Let us (said he), deliver the Romans from the disquietude with which they have long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. Flaminius will not acquire any reputation or glory by a victory gain'd over a betrayed and defenceless person. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the degeneracy of the Romans. Their ancestors gave Pyrrhus intelligence of a design to poison him, that he might guard against the impending danger, even when he was at the head of a powerful army in Italy; but they have deputed a person of con-

And poisons himself, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

* Corn. Nep. in Hannib. cap. 9. 10. Justin. lib. xxxii. cap. 4. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 52. Georg. Syncel. in Chron. p. 285. Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.

salar dignity to excite Prusias impiously to murder one, who has taken refuge in his dominions, in violation of the laws of hospitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations against Prusias, and his kingdom, and invoked the gods presiding over the sacred rites of hospitality; after which, drinking off the poison he had prepared, he expired, at seventy years of age. Cornelius Nepos intimates, that Hannibal destroyed himself by a subtle poison, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpose. Plutarch relates, that, according to some writers, he ordered a servant to strangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others maintain, that in imitation of Midas and Themistocles, he drank bull's blood *. Thus died Hannibal, one of the greatest generals and politicians that any age ever produced.

*Disputes
between
the Car-
thaginians
and Ma-
sinissa.*

It has been already observed, that by one of the articles of the late treaty, the Carthaginians were to restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the beginning of the war. To these Scipio annexed part of Syphax's dominions, in order to reward Masinissa's zeal and affection for the Romans on all occasions, since the commencement of his alliance with them. After Hannibal's flight to Antiochus, and Aristo's escape, the Romans began to regard the Carthaginians with a suspicious eye, though, to prevent all distrust, the latter of these states had ordered two ships to pursue Hannibal, confiscated his effects, rased his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewise to notify to the Romans Aristo's commission, as well as escape, in order to shew their disapprobation of Hannibal's design, by the deputies they dispatched to Rome, to complain of Masinissa's unjust pretensions. This prince, knowing that Carthage was miserably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the Romans, seized upon part of a maritime territory which was extremely rich and fruitful, situated near the Lesser Syrtis, called Emporia. Both sides sent ambassadors to Rome on this occasion, to support the titles of their respective masters to the district in dispute. The conscript fathers thought proper to authorize Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rufus, to examine into the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any resolution, leaving the business in the same uncertain state in which they found it. Whether the commissioners acted in this manner by order of the senate,

* Liv. ubi sup. & cap. 65. Plut. in Flamin. Corn. Nep. & Justin. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 21.

is not so certain, as that the interest of the Romans rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwise Scipio, who had deserved so well of both of them, could by his own authority have determined the dispute.

Masiniſſa, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, over-ran a province which his father Gala had taken from the Carthaginians, and Syphax from him, but now it had returned to its former maſters, through the charms and endearments of Sophoniſba. The Carthaginian deputies pleaded the cauſe of their principals, and Maſiniſſa diſplayed his pretenſions before the Roman commiſſioners with great warmth. The Carthaginians reclaimed this territory, as having originally belonged to their anceſtors, and afterwards been reſtored by Syphax. On the other hand, Maſiniſſa inſiſted, that it was formerly part of his father's kingdom; that in conſequence of this title he had taken poſſeſſion of it; and that his pretenſions were ſo indubitable, that he only feared leſt the modeſty of the Romans, which might render them fearful of indulging a friend and ally in his juſt claims upon their common enemy, ſhould prove prejudicial to his intereſts. The commiſſioners, in conformity to the diſpoſition of their republic, referred this diſpute, which happened ten years after the former, to the deciſion of the ſenate, and conſequently left it undetermined. However, in the conſulate of L. Æmilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tampilus, the Romans effected an accommodation betwixt Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, confirming the former in the poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter the hoſtages they had till that time detained.

The Romans accommodate the differences between them.

Maſiniſſa, graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans: for this purpoſe he concerted meaſures with the Roman ambaffadors in Africa, to prejudice the conſcript fathers againſt them. The latter did not ſcruple to affirm, that to their certain knowlege Perſeus, king of Macedon, with whom the Romans then were upon the verge of a war, had privately ſent ambaffadors to Carthage, to negociate an alliance with that ſtate; and that the ſenate was aſſembled by night in the temple of Æſculapius; to conſer with them; whiſt the former, in as poſitive a manner aſſerted, that the Car-

Maſiniſſa endeavours to embroil the Carthaginians with the Romans.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 118. Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 61. Appian. in Libyc. * Liv. lib. xl. cap. 17. & cap. 34. Vide & Appian. ubi ſupra.

thaginians had dispatched ministers to Perseus, to conclude a treaty with that monarch *.

Yr. of Fl.
1186.
Ante Chr.
164.

*And makes
an irrup-
tion into the
province
of Tysca.*

Not long after this dispute, Masinissa made an irruption into the province of Tysca, where he soon possessed himself of above seventy towns and castles. These hostilities obliged the Carthaginians to apply, with great importunity, to the Roman senate for redress, their hands being so tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force in case of invasion, without the consent of the Romans. The Carthaginian ministers at Rome represented the miserable condition of their republic in the most moving terms. They declared, that Masinissa was entirely destitute of honour; that without the interposition of that august assembly, to whom they then addressed themselves, no limits could be prescribed to his cruelty, insolence, avarice, and ambition. They therefore implored the conscript fathers, either to determine the point in debate betwixt their principals and Masinissa, or to suffer the former to dislodge the latter from his conquests by force of arms; or lastly, if they were resolved to support the Numidian in all his unjust pretensions, to specify, once for all, what territories the Carthaginians were to cede to him, that they might know hereafter what they had to depend upon. To this remonstrance they subjoined, that if the Carthaginians had incurred the displeasure of the Romans in any point inadvertently since the conclusion of the last peace, they begged they would punish them for the offence, and not leave them exposed to the insults and vexations of Masinissa, since they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were forced to suffer from so merciless a tyrant. Then prostrating themselves upon the earth, they burst into tears; which making a deep impression upon the senate in their favour, Gulussa, Masinissa's son, being then present, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: that he had received no instructions from his father how to act in the present emergency, since it could not be foreseen that any thing would be laid to his charge: that the Carthaginians had held several clandestine meetings by night in the temple of Æsculapius, the object of which consultations was kept secret from him, after which deputies were dispatched to Rome: that the sole design of his father's sending him to Rome was, to entreat the senate not to pay any regard to the insinuations of the common enemy against him, since

the implacable hatred they bore him was occasioned by the inviolable fidelity with which he had so long been attached to the Romans. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that it would be proper for Gulussa to set out immediately for Numidia, in order to acquaint his father with the complaints of the Carthaginians: that he ought to send deputies to Rome, to remove all difficulties which obstructed an accommodation between him and them: that they would continue to serve him as they had hitherto done, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved: that the Carthaginians ought to be maintained in the possession of those territories which the late treaty had allotted them. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents. The Romans declined being more peremptory with Masinissa, in hopes of receiving succours from him in the Macedonian war, which they were just going to commence. The Numidian answered their expectations; for he not only supplied them with corn, but likewise was upon the point of sending a body of troops, consisting of a thousand horse, and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his son Misagenes, to their assistance ^b.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding the lamentable slavery under which they groaned, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, who acquainted the senate, that their state would immediately transport a million bushels of wheat, and five hundred thousand bushels of barley, into any part of the world, for the use of the Romans. That they were sensible such a supply was not proportioned to those happy effects of the Roman generosity and goodness, which their principals had so long experienced, neither did it come up to their inclinations; but that they hoped it would be considered, by way of atonement for this defect, that, during the prosperity of both republics, in former times, they had given frequent instances of their being true and faithful allies. Masinissa's ambassadors not only offered the same quantity of corn, but likewise to reinforce the Roman army with another body of twelve hundred horse, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the senate's commands with the utmost alacrity. But notwithstanding all these offers, the senate protracted the affair, and would not allow their deputies to act decisively in adjusting the differences betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians, because

*The vile
behaviour
of the Ro-
mans to the
Carthagi-
nians.*

^b Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 23, 24, & cap. 29. Appian. in Libyc. p. 37.

they knew it was their interest to keep those two powers perpetual variance.

*Cato bears
an implacable
hatred to the Car-
thaginians.*

*Whatever designs the Romans might have formed, they affected to shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore sent Cato, to accommodate all differences betwixt Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The latter very well knew what their fate would be, should they submit to such a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty concluded by Scipio, as the only rule, by which both their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought to be examined. This appeal so incensed the rigorous Cato, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that noted republican was not so much to promote the observation or conclusion of treaties, as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of Carthage, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the adversities it had sustained, and gratify the Roman ambition, it is not so strange that he should, even in the most virulent manner, press the senate, after his return, to destroy that city.**

*Masinissa
defeats the
Carthaginians.*

Carthage had for some years been miserably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the Romans was headed by Hanno, a descendant of the person who ruined his country by not supporting Hannibal; that in the interest of Masinissa, by Hannibal, surnamed Passer; and that formed of the populace by Hamilcar, surnamed Sannis, and Carthalo: but lately, two powerful parties had struggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called the popular faction, prevailed over the other, composed of the grandees, and their adherents, and expelled forty of the senators. They retired to the court of Masinissa, to excite him to a war with the Carthaginians, who sent Gulussa and Micipsa, two of his sons, to Carthage, to solicit their return. However, the gates were shut at their approach, lest the people, moved by the tears of those related to the exiles, should grant their request. Nay, Hamilcar, surnamed Sannis, one of the Carthaginian generals, closely pursued Gulussa, and cut off some of his retinue. This outrage occasioning a fresh rupture, Masinissa besieged Oroscopa, in violation of the last treaty. Asdrubal, another Carthaginian general, advanced to the relief of Oroscopa, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and was immediately joined by a body of six thousand men, under the conduct of Asafis and Suba, two Numidian captains, who deserted from Masinissa. Animated by this accession of

* Liv. in Epit. 47. 48. 49. Appian. ubi supra, cap. 38. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.

strength, Asdrubal approached the Numidian, and skirmished successfully with some of the advanced guards. Masinissa, observing the eagerness of the Carthaginian, retired before him, pretending to be afraid of his superior force, and insensibly drew him into a large and desolate plain, surrounded with precipices. Asdrubal, finding himself thus decoyed, possessed himself of several eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately ensuing, and ending in favour of Masinissa, the Carthaginians sued for peace. In order to terminate their contests with that prince, the Carthaginians offered to cede the territory of Emporia, to pay down two hundred talents of silver, and remit eight hundred more at a stipulated time; but Masinissa insisting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any decision. It is observable, that the Roman deputies, who arrived in the Numidian camp soon after the engagement, had orders to insist upon a peace, in case the Carthaginians should defeat Masinissa; but to assure that prince of the continuance of their friendship, and push him on to the war, in case he should be victorious. In what manner, through the vindictive disposition of Gulussa, and the breaking out of the plague amongst them, the Carthaginian forces were almost totally destroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we must also beg leave to refer them for the particulars of this action^d.

After Carthage had rejected the mediation of the Romans, Cato made his utmost efforts to prevail upon the conscript fathers to destroy that city; but Scipio Nasica, having a superior influence in the senate, had hitherto, notwithstanding the provocation he met with from the Carthaginians, prevented a rupture. However, the people of Carthage, knowing the Romans to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had received from them ever since the commencement of their disputes with Masinissa, were under great apprehensions of a new war. To prevent this rupture, if possible, by a decree of the senate, they impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treason, for commencing hostilities against the king of Numidia. They sent a deputation to Rome, to discover what sentiments were entertained of their late conduct, and to know what satisfaction the Romans required. These ministers meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were dispatched, who returned with the same success. This treat-

*Cato pre-
vails upon
the Roman
senate to
declare
war
against
Carthage*

^d Liv. in Epit. xlviii. Appian. ubi supra.

ment made the unhappy citizens of Carthage believe their destruction was resolved upon, and threw them into the utmost despair: and indeed they had but too just grounds for such a melancholy apprehension, the Roman senate now discovering an inclination to adopt Cato's measures. It is asserted, that, in order to excite the conscript fathers to a vigorous resolution against the Carthaginians, that incendiary, after one of his most virulent speeches, threw out of the lapet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs, whose size and beauty being admired by the senators, "Know (said he), that it is but three days since these figs were gathered; such is the distance between the enemy and us." About the same time the city of Utica, being the second in Africa, and famous for its immense riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, submitted to the Romans. As the possession of such an important fortress, which, by its vicinity to Carthage, might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the Romans to put the design they had been so long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war against the Carthaginians, without the least hesitation. In consequence of which declaration, the consuls M. Manilius Nepos and L. Marcius Censorinus were dispatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hostilities with the utmost expedition. The land-forces, destined to act against the Carthaginians, consisted of eighty thousand foot, and four thousand chosen horse; and the fleet of fifty quinquereines, besides a vast number of transports. The consuls had secret orders from the senate not to conclude the operations but by the destruction of Carthage, without which, the republic pretended, she could not but consider all her possessions as insecure and precarious. Pursuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops first at Lilybæum in Sicily, from whence, after receiving a proper refreshment, it was proposed to transport them to Utica^a.

Yr. of Fl.
2159.
Ante Chr.
149.

The Romans demand three hundred hostages of the Carthaginians;

The answer brought by the last ambassadors to Carthage had terribly alarmed the inhabitants of that city: but they were not yet acquainted with the resolutions taken at Rome. They therefore sent fresh ambassadors, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should think fit for the good of the republic, and even to submit, without reserve, to the pleasure of the Romans: but the most sensible persons amongst them did not expect any great success from this negotiation, since the submission of the Uticans had rendered it infinitely less meritorious than it would have been

^a Liv. Appian. Plut. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 26. Plin. lib. xv. cap. 18. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 5.

before. However, the Romans seemed to be, in some measure, appeased, since they promised them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in short, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This condescension threw them into a transport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the Romans: but the conscript fathers immediately destroyed all their hopes, by declaring the next instant, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would send three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction to the prætor Fabius at Lilybæum, within the space of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the consuls. Gisco, surnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Misdas, Gillicus, and Mago (for so were the ambassadors called) durst not make the least remonstrance against the severity of these conditions, but immediately departed for Carthage, to impart them to the senate. That assembly was filled with inexpressible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hostages, which were considered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families in Carthage. They found themselves likewise extremely perplexed at the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the concessions they seemed willing to make, and at the vague expression of submitting to all the orders of the consuls. However, being absolutely incapable of coping with so formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almost every thing, Mago Bretius, in a noble and eloquent speech, exhorted them, for the present, to obey. No scene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by Carthage, when the hostages were given up: nothing was to be seen but tears, all parts, at the same time, echoing with groans and lamentations: but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a most mournful spectacle, bursting into tears, tearing their dishevelled hair, beating their breasts, and exclaiming in such a manner, as might have moved the most savage hearts to compassion. When the fatal moment of separation was come, they accompanied their children to the ship, bid them a long, last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more, embraced them with the utmost tenderness, clasped them closely in their arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the sailors: nay, many of them swam a long time after the ship, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the ambassadors delivered them to the consuls, and they to Fabius at Lilybæum, before the thirty days were expired, they were not entirely without hopes of softening their obdurate enemy: but the consuls only told them, that, upon

their arrival at Utica, they should learn the farther orders of the republic †.

*and oblige
them to de-
liver up all
their arms.*

Those ministers no sooner received intelligence of the Roman fleet's appearing off Utica, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The consuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the commands of their republic at once, lest they should appear so harsh and severe, that the Carthaginians would have refused a compliance with them. They first, therefore, demanded a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops: secondly, that they should surrender all the triremes they were then masters of: thirdly, that they should put them in possession of all their military machines: and, fourthly, that they should immediately convey all their arms into the Roman camp. As care was taken, that there should be a certain interval of time betwixt each of these demands, the Carthaginians found themselves ensnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they submitted to the last, with the utmost reluctance and concern.

*The Ro-
mans com-
mand the
Carthagi-
nians to
abandon
their city.*

Censorinus, now imagining the Carthaginians incapable of sustaining a siege, commanded them to abandon their city; permitting them, however, to build another eighty stadia from the sea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the ambassadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of Carthage, when apprised of it, by their gestures and complaints, demonstrated the greatest emotions of grief on this tragical occasion: but the Romans remained inflexible, not shewing the least regard to the tears and entreaties of a people reduced to the extremity of despair. The ambassadors, at one time, supplicated the gods with the greatest fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all possible means, to excite the compassion of the Romans; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whose eyes are ever open to fraud and villany. The senators and people, for some time, entirely abandoned themselves to despair; which was heightened by the frantic disposition of the women, whose children had been sent to Rome. In short, Carthage was nothing now but a scene of horror, madness, and confusion. The citizens cursed their ancestors for not dying gloriously in the defence of their country, rather than concluding such ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cause of the deplorable condition, to which their posterity was reduced. They likewise condemned themselves in the

† Polyb. lib. xxxiii. in Excerpt. Legat. 141. Liv. in Epit. xlix. Appian. & Flor. ubi supra. Eutrop. lib. iv. cap. 10. Zonar. ubi supra, cap. 26.

strongest terms, for having so tamely, as well as stupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blasphemously taxed the gods themselves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impression upon the Romans in their favour: but as, in a former part of our history, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we shall only observe, that, when the first transports of grief were over, and their passions began to subside, they unanimously resolved to die upon the spot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the Romans; and, in consequence of this resolution, made the necessary dispositions for the defence of their capital city.

The conduct of the Romans upon this occasion, deserves to be stigmatized by every historian, as infamously cruel and perfidious. The Carthaginians, having pacified Asdrubal, one of their generals, who, for some contemptuous treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, almost to the gates of Carthage, in order to besiege it, reduced most of the open country to their obedience. Asdrubal, with his forces, posted himself advantageously before the town, supplying the inhabitants daily with vast quantities of provisions. At last the Roman army invested it, not doubting but it would fall an easy prey. Manilius attacked it by land, as Marcius did by sea; and both of them pushed on the siege with all imaginable vigour: but Asdrubal greatly retarded their approaches, cutting off their parties sent to collect materials for framing the military machines; by drawing them insensibly into ambuscades prepared for that purpose. Manilius therefore could make no considerable impression on the city by land; and as Marcius, with the fleet, lay near the stagnum or great morass, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the season, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The garrison likewise repulsed the Romans in every attack they made, with great loss, and, by their vigorous sallies in the night, destroyed most of their works and battering-engines. Asdrubal also, by his detachments, prevented their excursions, and intercepted their foragers; so that their cavalry was reduced to the utmost distress. A misunderstanding betwixt Masinissa and the Romans hindered the junction of their forces; so that the consuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at present, to withdraw from before the town. Marcius, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coasts of Africa; but not being able to execute his de-

The operations of the Romans against Carthage.

† *Ibid.* Flor. ubi supra. Paul. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 22.

sign, he attacked the island Ægimurus, which surrendered. In the mean time Manilius advanced towards the sea-coasts, to favour the operations of Marcius: but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of Carthage, having been harassed in his march by Himilco, surnamed Fabeas, or, according to Appian, Phameas, general of the Carthaginian horse. However, the siege proceeded very slowly, Asdrubal closely attending him, and destroying great numbers of his men on one side, whilst the besieged made an equal havoc on the other, by their continual sallies. The Romans were only in possession of Suzus, Leptis, Cholla, and Utica; so that they were much distressed for want of provisions. We are told by Appian, that Censorinus played one vast ram against the walls with six thousand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whose officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement. However, though a great breach was made, he could not storm the place, the Carthaginians, after having repulsed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the Carthaginians afterwards burnt the Roman fleet, and Scipio Æmilianus saved the Roman army, when it was upon the very brink of destruction, may be learnt from Appian, as well as a former part of this work ^b.

In the mean time Masinissa, drawing near his end, dispatched a courier to Æmilianus, to desire he would superintend the division of the dominions among his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal, as well as assist them with his advice. This office Scipio executed in the most prudent and equitable manner, as we shall see in the Numidian history. Mean while, Manilius reduced the strong city of Tezaga, where he defeated the enemy, putting twelve thousand to the sword, and taking six thousand prisoners. Some other places of strength he likewise reduced before the conclusion of the campaign ¹.

The Carthaginians, about this time, sustained a considerable loss by the desertion of Phameas, one of their best commanders, who joined the Romans, after having had an interview with Æmilianus, at the head of a body of two thousand two hundred horse. As he was an officer of great capacity, he did not a little contribute to the destruction of Carthage.

Next campaign, the consul Calpurnius Piso, and his lieutenant Mancinus, conducted the war in Africa. The Car-

*Phameas
deserts the
Carthagi-
nians,*

*The Car-
thaginians
obtain some
advan-
tages over
the Ro-
mans.*

^b Liv. Appian. Flor. Plut. Aurel. Viét. de Vir. Illust. 53. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi supra. ¹ Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 175. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2.

thaginians were so formidable this year, that they obtained several advantages over the Romans, and, towards the close of the campaign, obliged them to raise the siege of Hippo Zaritus, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. The siege of Carthage for the present seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to Andiscus, who pretended to be the son of Perseus king of Macedon, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the Romans with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this measure, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter.

The Carthaginian army, having been reinforced in the preceding year with a body of eight hundred Numidian horse, whose leader Bithyas had prevailed upon them to desert Gulussa, and the accession of some other troops from Carthage, began to move very early out of winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither Micipsa nor Mastanabal, Masinissa's other sons, had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them assistance, the Carthaginians resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at Nopheris and Hippo, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of Carthage, though the city was, in a manner, dismantled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. They sent ambassadors to Micipsa, Mastanabal, and the independent Mauritanian princes, in order to form a powerful alliance against the Romans, insinuating, that, should the African republic be once subverted by that haughty people, they must soon expect to meet with the same fate. Afrubal, the Carthaginian general without the town, about this time, ambitious of having the command of the troops within the city, possessed by another Afrubal, Gulussa's nephew, accused him falsely of a design to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent person was so thunder-struck with the accusation, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; so that he was instantly dispatched upon the spot, without any farther process ^k.

Soon after this transaction Piso, with a body of troops, *Æmilianus* reduced some of the inland towns, leaving Mancinus, with *takes Me-* the other part of the army, to continue the siege of Carthage. *gara;*

* Appian. ubi sup. Liv. epit. l. Zonar. ubi sup. cap. 30.

Mancinus,

Mancinus, observing one part of the wall, which from its rocky situation seemed inaccessible, not guarded, found means to scale it, and take post in the town, with three thousand five hundred men; but the Carthaginians not only prevented any ill consequences from this lodgment, but likewise cut off his retreat, and he must either have been destroyed or starved to a surrender, had not Æmilianus in the critical moment advanced to his relief. The Carthaginians immediately abandoned several posts; a circumstance which encouraged Æmilianus to make an attack upon Megara, a part of the city which our readers will find already described. This was begun at midnight by a select body of troops, who had provided themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, conducted by the general himself. They advanced several stadia without the least noise, but at last gave a sudden and general shout, which struck the enemy, who did not expect a visit at so unseasonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themselves, they opposed the assailants with such bravery, that Æmilianus found it impossible to mount the ramparts; but at last perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who, by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence, descending into Megara, they immediately broke down the gates. Æmilianus then entering with four thousand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themselves obliged to retreat to Byrsa, in as great consternation as if the whole city had been taken, followed even by the forces that were encamped without the town. Asdrubal, finding next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined, and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the Roman prisoners he had taken in the manner we have already related¹.

and fortifies his camp.

Whilst Asdrubal was thus venting his fury upon the Roman captives, and even murdering many Carthaginian senators who opposed his tyranny, Æmilianus was employed in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined the peninsula whereon Carthage stood, to the continent of Africa. That part of these lines which fronted the city of Carthage, was strengthened by a wall twenty-five stadia long, and twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the

¹ Polyb. in Excerptis Valefii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar. ubi sup.

middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, which overlooked the city. The enemy made their utmost efforts to impede the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The Carthaginians were doubly incommoded by this work; first, as it secured the Roman forces against their sallies; and secondly, as Æmilianus thereby cut off all supplies of provision; a circumstance which distressed them exceedingly. Bithyas indeed, who had been ordered to collect corn before Æmilianus made himself master of Megara, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines, but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to Asdrubal, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this conduct by the opposition he received from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the Roman prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out, that such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unreasonable at a juncture when they were ready to sink under the pressure of the public calamities. A famine therefore ensued, which contributed to the destruction of the city^m.

The besieged found themselves already reduced to great distress; but the progress Æmilianus had lately made in an attempt to shut up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already blocked up by the Roman fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy prospect than any thing that had yet happened. Being extremely alarmed, they resolved to take such measures as might, if possible, defeat the enemy's design. Setting, therefore, all hands to work, with astonishing industry, they dug a new basin, and opened a communication with the sea, which enabled them to make head against the enemy once more upon that element. With the same diligence they equipped a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vast number of other vessels, built chiefly of the old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed so suddenly, and with such an impenetrable secrecy, that Æmilianus entertained not the least suspicion of it, till he saw their squadron appear at sea. Then his surprize was so great, thinking it impossible that so weak an enemy should in an instant become so formidable, that Appian believes the Carthaginians might have totally ruined the Roman fleet had they

The Carthaginians again worsted.

^m Idem ibid.

immediately

immediately attacked it. This seems to have been no unreasonable supposition, because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man otherwise employed, the Carthaginians would have found the Roman vessels destitute of rowers, soldiers, and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preserving every thing dear and valuable, the other of finishing a conquest which had cost them such an immense quantity of blood and treasure, they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the Carthaginian brigantines, gliding along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces many of their sterns, rudders, and oars; and if at any time they found themselves pushed, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. The dispute continued with equal success till the evening, when the Carthaginians retired, not under any apprehension of the enemy's superiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter vessels, being extremely swift and numerous, soon occupied the harbour, so that those of a larger size were excluded, and obliged to take shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, and on the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day, with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at last, by the conduct and bravery of five gallees of Sida, the Carthaginians were obliged to retire, and seek shelter near the city. Next morning Æmilianus attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign^m.

*Julius
groves Dio-
genes: a
great war-
throw.*

In order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind from the besieged, Æmilianus formed a design to reduce the places of strength the Carthaginians still held, particularly Nopheris. Here they had a numerous body of

^m Idem-ibid. & Liv. in epit. li. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.

forces strongly encamped, commanded by Diogenes, one of Asdrubal's intimate friends, who, by means of the new bason already mentioned, sent continual convoys of provisions to Carthage. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by persons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accomplished by a body of troops under the conduct of Lælius, supported by Gulussa's Numidian horse. By the activity of these last, and the violence of the Numidian elephants, the whole Carthaginian army, consisting of eighty-four thousand men, was either cut in pieces or taken prisoners, except four thousand, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. This disaster happened before Æmilianus resumed the operations against the city of Carthage, and induced the Africans, who were kept in awe by Diogenes, to abandon the Carthaginians.

Æmilianus afterwards formed two attacks, one against Byrsa, and the other against the Cothon. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded the port or Cothon, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it; but night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his soldiers to remain there till morning under arms. At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thousand men from the camp, who, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of Apollo, which was immensely rich, and divided the booty amongst themselves, before they could be prevailed upon to advance against the enemy. Æmilianus being master of every part of the city but Byrsa or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this last with inexpressible bravery. The Carthaginians having been greatly weakened by a famine, insomuch that they had been obliged to feed, for some time, upon human flesh, and had scarce strength to handle their arms, he, in six days, effected this purpose. However, in the contest he lost a vast number of men, and gained his point with the utmost difficulty. Most of those who had fled into Byrsa were so intimidated at the approach of the Roman army, that they surrendered upon the proconsul's granting them their lives. Asdrubal, the commandant, soon after abandoned his troops, and put himself into the hands of the Romans. His wife could not survive such an instance of perfidiousness, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred Roman deserters, to whom Æmilianus had denied mercy, committed herself, as well as her children, to the flames, that destroyed the

Yr. of Fl.
2202.
Ante Chr.
146.

Æmilianus
takes Byr-
sa and de-
stroys Car-
thage.

^a Liv. & Appian. ubi supra.

citadel and the famous temple of Æsculapius. This event put a period to the state of Carthage, and consequently to the dispute for the empire of the world, which had continued almost without intermission, betwixt two of the most powerful republics to be found in history, for the space of a hundred and eighteen years. Carthage, after this, was demolished, in pursuance of the orders sent by the conscript fathers to the proconsul. The cities confederated with it were dismantled, and those that had declared for the Romans, rewarded. Africa Propria was also reduced to the form of a Roman province. But of these transactions, as well as of the catastrophe we are now upon, our readers will find a full and ample account in the Roman history.

He carries off an immense quantity of plunder to Rome.

Thus fell Carthage, in the consulate of C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius, about an hundred and forty-six years before the commencement of the Christian æra; a city, whose destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its ambitious rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treasure Æmilianus carried off, even after the city had been given up to the soldiers to be plundered, according to the Roman military law, was so immense, that it exceeded all belief, Pliny making it amount to four (D) millions

* Idem ibid. ut in Zonar. ubi sup. Vide etiam Valer. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 23. Flor. & Aurel. Vi&. ubi supra. Eutrop. lib. iv. cap. 12.

(D) This was not the only treasure Æmilianus met with now in Carthage. According to Sallust, he preserved from the flames several valuable libraries, which he presented to the sons of Micipsa. The works of all the most noted Phœnician and Punic authors were undoubtedly included in these collections, some of the principal of which, besides those already mentioned, were the following:

1. Diodorus, a celebrated Phœnician historian, a fragment of whose work, relating to the friendly intercourse betwixt Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, has been preserved by Josephus, in the eighth book of

his antiquities, and the first of his treatise against Apion.

2. Eumachus, a Carthaginian writer, cited by Phlegon, who amongst other things, related, that; whilst the Carthaginians were drawing a line round Africa Propria, they discovered two human skeletons, deposited in two coffins, of an enormous size. One of these, according to Phlegon, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto discovered.

3. Hieronymus Ægyptius, who, according to Preculphus Lexovienfis, a chronological historian, that lived near nine hundred

millions four hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight of silver. The Romans ordered it should never be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially Byrsa and Megara. The Carthaginian prisoners, sent to Rome, were distributed in the various provinces of Italy, as already related.

hundred years ago, wrote a history of Phœnicia. For a farther account of him, we must refer our readers to Vossius.

4. Histæus Milesius, a compiler of Phœnician history, mentioned by Josephus, in the first book of his Jewish antiquities.

5. Hypsicrates, a native of Phœnicia, who composed a history of that country in the Phœnician language. A Greek translation of this author, executed by Chætus, if not the original itself, was extant in the time of Tatian. He is likewise taken notice of by Eusebius, in the tenth book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*.

6. Iolæus, a compiler of Phœnician history, whose works were all lost, except a few fragments, which seem entirely fabulous. From what Bochart, Gesner, and Vossius, have related of him, the loss of his performance is not greatly to be regretted.

7. Mochus or Moschus, a Phœnician, who wrote the history of his own country in his mother tongue. Chætus above mentioned translated this piece into Greek. Josephus, Tatian, and Athenæus, supply us with the short account we have of him.

8. Moschus Sidonius, a native of Sidon, who, according to Strabo, seems to have been the founder of the atomical philosophy.

9. Procles, a Carthaginian historian, some of whose fragments have been preserved by Pausanias.

10. Sanchoniatho, a Phœnician historian, who, according to the most received opinion, lived a little before the siege of Troy. He extracted his history, which was written in the Phœnician language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the sacred writings deposited in temples. Philo of Byblus, who, according to Suidas, lived in the reign of Hadrian, translated this history into Greek, some extracts of which we find in the first book of Eusebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*. Suidas informs us, that he wrote one treatise of the religious institutions of the Phœnicians; another of Hermes's physiology; and a third of the Egyptian theology.

11. Theodotus, a writer of Phœnician history, whose performance Chætus translated into Greek. Our readers will find every thing relating to him in Bochart and Vossius (1).

(1) Strab. lib. xvi. & alib. Joseph. Antiq. & Cont. Apion. pass. Euseb. in Præp. Evang. pass. Hestæus Milesius apud Joseph. in Antiq. Judaic. lib. iii. Phlegon. Trallian. de Reb. Mirabil. cap. 18. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iii. iv. & alib. Tatian. in Orat. advers. Gent. Voss. de Art. Histor. cap. 7. & de Hist. Græc. lib. iii. Gesa. in Biblioth. & Bochart. in Chan.

*Carthage
after-
wards re-
built by the
Romans
themselves.*

About twenty-four years after this stately metropolis had been laid in ashes by *Emilianus*, pursuant to the orders of the senate, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himself with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, for that purpose, conducted thither a colony of six thousand Roman citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unfortunate omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations, of the new city; which the senate being informed of, would have suspended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with such presages, continued carrying on the work, and finished it in a few days. From hence it seems probable, that only a slight kind of huts were erected, especially since we are told by *Velleius*, that *Marius*, after his flight into Africa, lived in a poor, mean condition amidst the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle, and himself at the same time serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his design, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was entirely discontinued, in compliance with the senate's orders, as *Appian* suggests, it is certain this was the first Roman colony that ever was sent out of Italy.

*And, after
various
turns of
fortune, is
at last rased
by the
Saracens.*

Appian relates, that *Julius Cæsar*, having landed his forces in Africa, to terminate the war with *Pompey's* adherents, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called upon him. Being struck with the vision, he wrote down in his pocket-book the design he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth. But, being murdered soon after in the curia at Rome by the conspirators, prevented the execution of his design. However, says the same author, *Augustus Cæsar*, his adopted son, finding this memoir amongst his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which ancient Carthage stood, which he called by the same name, in order to avoid the ill effects of those imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its destruction. Thither he sent a colony of three thousand men, who were soon joined by considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not so consistent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by *Julius Cæsar*. It is certain this last author, who flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms Carthage in his time to

have been equal, if not superior, to the largest city in Africa. Plutarch follows Strabo, and, therefore, in opposition to Appian, gives a sanction to his authority. Pliny mentions it as a very considerable colony in his days, though the town was not then of so large an extent as that destroyed by *Æmilianus*. Solinus gives us to understand, that the town built by Gracchus was called *Junonia*, and, for some time of little consequence, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the consulate of M. Antonius and P. Dolabella, it made such a figure, that it was esteemed the second city in the Roman dominions. It was considered as the capital of Africa for several centuries after the commencement of the Christian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in ashes about the sixth or seventh year of *Constantine's* reign. *Genseric* king of the Vandals, took it A. D. 439; but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the Roman empire by that renowned commander *Belisarius*. At last the Saracens, under *Mohammed's* successors, towards the close of the seventh century, so completely destroyed this city, that no other traces of it are now to be discovered than those we have already taken notice of in the first section of the Carthaginian history.



C H A P. LXXIII.

*The History of the Numidians, to the Conquest of
their Country by the Romans.*

S E C T. I.

Description of Numidia.

THE limits of the region called Numidia have been differently defined by the ancient geographers. Pliny gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers Fusca and Ampsaga; which includes the Numidia Nova of Ptolemy, together with the district of the Cirtesi. Mela affirms it to have extended from the river Molochoth or

*The limits
of Numi-
dia.*

* Agrippa. in Libyc. sub. fin. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 833. Plut. in

Mulucha, to the borders of Africa Propria, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of Cirta. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by Strabo, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by Polybius, Livy, and Dio, says it comprehended the kingdoms of the Maffyli and Masæfyli, the last of which was bounded on the west by the Mulucha, as the first was on the east by the Tusca. Dionysius Afer, Silius Italicus, and Appian, add no small weight to Strabo; for which reason our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of Numidia upon the plan he has laid down.

*Numidia
had dif-
ferent
bounds af-
signed it at
different
times.*

Numidia was limited on the north by the Mediterranean; on the south by Gætulia, or part of Lybia Interior; on the west by the Mulucha, which separated it from Mauritania; and on the east by the Tusca, a boundary it had in common with Africa Propria. If we suppose Malva, Malvana, Mulucha, Molochath, and the present Mullooli of the Algerines to be the same river, and the modern Zaine to correspond with the ancient Tusca, as the learned Dr. Shaw has rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length. The breadth cannot be so easily ascertained: but, supposing it to have been nearly the same with that of the present kingdom of Algiers, as there is good reason to apprehend it was, in the narrowest part it must have been about forty miles, that being the distance near Tlemsan from the desert or Sahara to the sea-coast, and above a hundred in the broadest. In the Carthaginian times, Numidia contained two considerable nations, the most powerful of which, according to Strabo, was called the Maffyli, and the other the Masæfyli or Massæfyli. The country inhabited by the Massæfyli is, by some authors, esteemed a part of Mauritania; but Polybius, Livy, and Strabo, whose authority is superior to that of all other writers, in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was considered as appertaining to Mauritania in after-ages by the Romans, we learn from Dio, who likewise asserts, that it received the name of Mauritania Cæsariensis from the emperor Claudius.

*The extent
of Numi-
dia.*

Numidia, including Numidia Propria, or the country of the Maffyli, and Mauritania Cæsariensis, or that of the Masæfyli, extended from 34 degrees 5 minutes to 37 degrees N. latitude, and from 1 degree 15 minutes W. to 9 degrees 16 minutes E. of London.

* Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 2. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 6. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 570. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 33. Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 43. & lib. xxviii. cap. 17. Dio Cass. lib. xli. p. 72.1

* Dr. Shaw's Geographical Observations of Algiers, cap. 1.

The

The country of the Massyli, Numidia Propria, or, as some authors style it, Terra Metagonitis, was separated from the proper territory of Carthage by its eastern boundary the river Tusca, and from the kingdom of the Massæyli, or Mauritania Cæsariensis, if we credit Pliny, by the Ampsaga. It seems to correspond with that part of the province of Constantina lying between the Zaine and the Wed el Kibeer, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The sea-coast of this province is, in general, mountainous and rocky, answering appositely enough to the appellation given it by Abulfeda, viz. El Adwah, *the high or lofty*. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories, that formed the kingdom of the Massæyli, though this nation is represented as less potent than the Massyli by Strabo. We shall only mention such of the principal places seated in it, as have been taken the greatest notice of by the ancients, the bounds we have prescribed ourselves obliging us to pass over all the rest.

The country of the Massyli.

The capital city of this province, or rather kingdom, was Cirta, a place of very considerable note amongst the ancients. It stood about forty-eight miles from the sea, and at a small distance from the Ampsaga. According to Strabo, it was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of Micipsa, who invited a great number of Greeks to come and reside in it. Mela and Pliny intimate, that it was likewise known by the name of Sittianorum Colonia in their time, and in its most flourishing state, when under the dominion of Syphax. The latter name it received from the colony settled there by P. Sittius, who, having been of singular service to Cæsar in the African war, received a great extent of territory in those parts, which formerly belonged to Manasses, one of Juba's confederates, as we learn from Appian and Dio; for which reason we find it called Cirta Julia by Ptolemy, who names the territory adjacent to it, the district of the Cirtesii, which he separates from Numidia, making it include the cities of Vaga, Miræum, Lares, Ætara, and Azama. That Cirta was one of the largest as well as strongest cities of Numidia, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are still to be seen, and its situation; for the greatest part of it was built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the south-west. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but terminating

* Strab. lib. ii. Plin. Mel. Ptol. ubi sup. Abulfed. in Geogr. ex Traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier. Shaw, ubi sup. cap. 7. & alib.

in a precipice of a northern direction. Here a beautiful landscape arose from a most agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themselves to a great distance. To the eastward the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the south-east, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of Cirta with a distant view of the high mountain, called at present Zigancah, as well as those large and fertile eminences, whose modern name is Seedy Rougeise. The peninsular promontory, in the direction we are now upon, was separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where a rivulet, that seems to have been a branch of the Ampsaga, the modern Rummel of the Algerines, conveyed its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of excellent workmanship. The isthmus, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about half a stadium broad, being entirely covered at present with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a small plain parallel to the valley above described. The most eminent fragments of antiquity still remaining are, 1. A particular set of cisterns near the centre of the city, about twenty in number, forming an area of fifty yards square. 2. The aqueduct, whose remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the cisterns, sufficiently demonstrate the wealth, public spirit, and magnificence of the Numidian princes. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, with columns, four of whose bases, seven foot in diameter, still in their places, seem to have formed part of the portico. This stands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the Turkish garrison of Constantina is always posted. That name was given Cirta in the reign of Constantine the Great, who repaired and adorned it, according to Aurelius Victor. Cirta was the metropolis of Masinissa's dominions, that prince, his father Gala, and several other monarchs of the same family, residing there, as we learn from Polybius, Livy, and others. Strabo informs us, that Micipsa rendered it so large, populous, and flourishing, that in his time it could send into the field an army of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, founded by the Phœnicians, even before Dido's arrival in Africa.

¹ Strab. lib. xvii. p. 572. Mel. ubi sup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. Dio Cass. lib. xliii. sub init. Appian. in Civil. lib. iv. p. 996. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 12. & alib. Sallust. in Jugurth. Prolog. lib. iv. cap. 3. Shaw, ubi sup. cap. 2.

Vaga, a large city, according to Ptolemy, was situated a few miles east of Cirta. Plutarch calls it Baga, and Sallust Vacca; which is the name likewise given it by Silius, Pliny, and St. Austin. The Romans placed a strong garrison here under the command of Turpilius, according to Sallust and Plutarch.

Lares, a town south-east of Cirta, has been described by Ptolemy. Some think it different from that in the Itinerary called Laribus Colonia, or Laribum Colonia. This place is mentioned by Sallust, and other ancient authors.

Azama, a town which Ptolemy places fifteen days journey distant from Carthage, lay south-east of Cirta. Some authors imagine this to be the same with Zama, a large and magnificent city, and famous for the signal defeat of Hannibal; but this conjecture is rendered improbable by Livy and Polybius, who fix Zama on a spot much nearer Carthage. Miræum and Ætara, the other two places in the district of the Cirtæsi, mentioned by Ptolemy, are so obscure, that it is sufficient just to have named them *.

About eighteen miles from the Ampsaga, at the western bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, or, as it is now called, the Gulph of Stora, stood the Cullu, or Collops Magnus, of Pliny and Ptolemy. There is nothing remaining at present of this ancient city, but a few miserable houses, and a small fort. The modern name is Cull, which, as well as the ancient, might be derived from a small port before it, *Culla*, in Arabic and Phœnician, signifying a port. At the eastern extremity of the same gulph was the Ruscada of Ptolemy, the Sgigata or Stora of the moderns. A few cisterns, converted at present into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity discernible in it. The ancient geographers have fixed it fifty or sixty Roman miles from Cullu; whereas, in reality, it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet seems to be the Tapfas of Vibius Sequester *.

Not many miles to the north-east stood the Tacatua of Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary, the Tuckush of the Algerines, at present a pleasant village, with a fruitful country surrounding it. At some distance from it, in an eastern direction, was the Sulluco, or Collops Parvus, of Ptolemy, the modern small port of Tagodeite.

At the western extremity of the gulph of Hippo, upon the river Armua, was the city of Hippo Regius, a place we have had occasion to mention frequently in the Roman and Car-

* Polyb. lib. xv. cap. 5. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. cap. 57. Hirt. in B. Afr. cap. 91. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. Ptol. ubi sup. & Inscrip. Ven. apud Gruter. p. 364. * Shaw, ubi sup. cap. 7.

thaginian histories. Upon the spot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is still to be seen. According to Leo Africanus, the city of Bona, or, as the Moors call it, Blaid el Aneb, Town of Juebs, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood, about a mile farther to the north, was built out of these ruins. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the name Bona, which is undoubtedly a corruption of Hippo or Hippona. It is probable that Bona has the same situation which Ptolemy's Aphrodisium had, since he places it fifteen miles to the north of Hippo. The ruins of Hippo occupy about half a league in circumference, consisting, as usual, of large broken walls and cisterns. This city was called Hippo Regius, because it was, for some time, the seat of the Numidian kings, as Silius Italicus asserts. Indeed its commodious situation both for hunting and commerce, the salubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, and the delightful prospect they enjoyed, demonstrate this city to be as worthy of such an honour as any other in the Numidian dominions.

Tabraca.

Tabraca, or Tabraca, was a maritime city of Numidia Propria, seated on the western bank of the Tusca. It is mentioned by Mela, Juvenal, Pliny, Ptolemy, and St. Austin. Pliny insinuates, that it was a Roman colony in the latter ages. Some ruins are still remaining, and out of them has sprung the modern Tabarca, where there are several broken walls and cisterns, with a small fort and garison of Tuniseens.

Naragara.

Naragara, or Nadagara, a very ancient town, south-west of Tabraca, was situated on the confines of Africa Propria. Here, towards the conclusion of the second Punic war, Scipio is said to have encamped for the benefit of the water, Hannibal at the same time taking post upon an eminence four miles distant from him. Polybius called this place Margaron. It is supposed that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this ancient city, are still to be seen.

Sicca.

Somewhere in this tract we are to look for Sicca, Sicca Venerea, or Venera; but since its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all farther particulars relating to it.

Thirmida.

Thirmida was a town of this province, where Hiempsal, according to Sallust, lost his life: but whether it stood on the borders of the Massyli, or remote from them, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot determine.

Strab. lib. xiii. p. 575. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 3. Plin. & Mel. ubi sup. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 559. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. cap. 4. Leo African. p. 211. Shaw, ubi sup. & Geogr. Nubiac. p. 22. Sallust. in Jugurth. cap. 13.

Suthul appears to have been a place of some strength; for here Hiempsal's treasure was deposited, as we are informed by the same historian. It is probable, from some hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from Thirmida.

Madaura had its situation in the neighbourhood of Sicta Venerea, Tagaste, and Hippo Regius. It was famous for the birth of Apuleius the Platonic philosopher; which is all we can say of it^a.

As for Sava, Gemellæ, Calama, Lambefa, Theveste, Taddutti, Sigus, Tipasa, Simisthu, Lamafba, and an infinite number of other obscure places, they deserve not the least attention. It will be sufficient, in order to complete our geographical description of this province, to give a succinct account of the most remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, islands, and some of its principal curiosities, to which we shall beg leave to premise a word or two concerning the interior part of it^b.

We have already observed, that the sea-coast of this province was mountainous and rocky; to which we shall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diversified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew less capable of culture in proportion as it approached the Sahara. In many places, for several leagues together, nothing was to be seen but a solitary desert, destitute both of animals, and every thing proper for their support. In others, fruitful districts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the most delicious pomgranates and apples, afforded a most delightful prospect to travellers^c.

The first ridge of mountains is that upon the borders of Gætulia, which terminated the country between the parallels of Sitifi and Cirta, called by the ancients Buzara. 2. That called Thambes, extending itself as far as Tabraca. 3. The Mampfarus of Ptolemy, upon the frontiers of Gætulia, which separated that country, or the Sahara, from the Mauritania Sitifensis. 4. The Mons Audus of Ptolemy, or the Mons Aurafius of the middle age, known at present amongst the Turks by the name of Jibbel Aurefs or Evrefs^d.

The first promontory that falls under our observation is the Tritum of Strabo, and the Metagonium of Mela, about six leagues to the eastward of the Ampfaga, called at present the Sebba Rous, or Seven Capes, by the Algerines. 2. The Hippi Promontorium of Ptolemy, the Mabra of the sea-charts, about twenty leagues east of the former. It is

^a Apul. Madaurens. in Metamorphos. lib. xi. de Platon. Philof. lib. iii. & in Apul. D. Aug. in Confes. lib. ii. cap. 3. ^b Ptol. Itinerar. Antonin. Peutling. Tab. Not. Æthic. Orof. &c. ^c Shaw, ubi supra. ^d Plin. Ptol. & Shaw ubi supra.

known at present among the Algerines by the name *Ras el Hamrah*, i. e. the Red Cape, and has the ruins of two small buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league distant from the Hippo Promontorium, to the northward, is the Straborrum Promontorium of Ptolemy: this was in the gulph of Hippo, and about a league from the city of that name*.

Rivers.

Of the rivers which water Numidia Propria, the most remarkable are the following: 1. The Ampsaga, which separated this region from that of the Massæyli or Mauritania Cæsariensis. That river fell into the sea about six leagues to the west of Cullu, and is at present named the *Wed el Kibeer*, or Great River; which very well agrees with the signification of the word *Ampsaga*, *Aphsah* importing in Arabic *broad, large, or ample*. At present it appears to be composed of the following branches: the *Wed el Dsahab*, River of Gold, whose source is at *Kasbaite*, a heap of ruins sixty miles to the south-west; the rivulet of *Jimmealah*, in the same direction nearly with the *Wed el Dsahab*, but a little more than forty miles distance; the *Wed el Hammam*, twenty miles to the west of Constantina; the *Wed el Sigan*, fifteen miles to the south-west from *Physegah*; and the springs of *Hydrah*, about half that distance to the south-east. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their Ampsaga towards the gulph of Cull; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which exactly answers the Ampsaga of the ancients, has no such direction, but falls into the sea six leagues to the westward. Cellarius fixes its source in that ridge of mountains, by Ptolemy called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the Sahara; which contradicts the latest and most accurate observations. 2. The *Armua* of Pliny, the modern *Sei-bouse*, which emptied itself into the western extremity of the gulph of Hippo. This often leaves great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring shore, and, by the low situation of the adjacent country, occasions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of Ptolemy, or *Ma-fragg* of the Algerines, has its fountains on some hills that lie at a little distance to the south of Hippo, its mouth being about four leagues easterly from that of *Armua*. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at present generally stopped up with a high bank of sand, raised by the north and north-east winds; so that it is seldom open but after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tusca*, now called the *Zâine*, the boundary of this province on the side of Africa Propria. It is said, that, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the

* Mel. lib. i. cap. 7. Strab. lib. xii.

old Africans, the word *Zaine* denotes an oak-tree, and consequently approaches pretty near in signification to *Thabraca*, the Phœnician name of the frontier town upon this river. The *Zaine* has its source in the adjacent mountains ^f.

All the most noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Those to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been just touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whose waters, if drank copiously, rendered the voice loud and sonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* resided, and was levelled with the ground by the Romans, according to *Strabo* ^g.

The only islands that were ever supposed to have been adjacent to this region were, 1. The *Insulæ Naxiæ* or *Bithecusæ* of *Scylax*, opposite to *Collops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to Europe than Africa. 2. The island of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tusca*, now in the possession of the Genoese, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of *Algiers* ^h.

The principal curiosities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The large marshy plain between *Blaïd el Aneb* and *Hippo*, with the river *Booemah*, which has a bridge of Roman workmanship upon it. 2. The Roman inscriptions found dispersed all over this province. 3. The rich lead-mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Taleb*. 4. The warm springs, bubbling within a large square basin of Roman workmanship, which seem to be the *Aquæ Calidæ* or *Aquæ Tibilitanæ* of the ancients, lying about ten leagues to the south-west of *Hippo Regius*, and sixteen to the east of *Cirta* or *Constantina*. To which we might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of *Algiers*.

The limits and extent of the *Regio Massesyliorum* of *Strabo*, or the *Mauritania Cæsariensis* of *Dio*, being that tract lying between the *Mulucha* and *Ampsaga*, are already ascertained by the determination of those of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Massyli* in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not considerable, being at a medium only about twenty leagues, except in that part which bordered upon the confines of the *Massyli*. It lay betwixt 34 degrees 30 minutes, and

^f *Herodot. lib. iv. Plin. lib. v. cap. 3. & lib. xxxv. cap. 6.* *Ptol. ubi supra. Strabo, Mel. Solin. ubi supra. I. Leo African. p. 287. Geogr. Nubiens. & Shaw pass.* ^g *Marmol. in Descript. d'Afr.* ^h *Scylax Caryand. peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Shaw, ubi supra, p. 142. Marmol. lib. v. cap. 34.*

37 degrees N. latitude, and extended from 1 degree 15 minutes W. to 6 degrees 30 minutes E. longitude from London. It included that part of the country of the western Moors bounded on the west by the Mullooiab, and on the east by the mountains of Trara; those provinces of the kingdom of Algiers called Tlemsan and Titterie; together with the western part of that known by the name of Constantia. The principal cities, rivers, mountains, and promontories, we shall discuss in the concise manner possible ¹.

Igilgili.

Igilgili was a town of this tract, about seven leagues to the westward of the Ampsaga, where, according to Pliny, Augustus planted a Roman colony. Ptolemy places this town half a degree to the southward of Saldæ, in a situation contrary to that of the modern Jijel, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. Shaw supposes this place to be the Igilgili of the ancients.

Saldæ.

Saldæ, where Augustus planted a Roman colony, has been placed by Ptolemy upon a spot two degrees distant from Igilgili. The modern Boujeiah is supposed to be the ancient Saldæ.

Rufazus.

Rufazus, another Augustan colony west of Saldæ, is taken notice of by Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary.

Rufucurium.

Rufucurium, a city of the neighbourhood of the former, was highly distinguished by the emperor Claudius, who conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by Pliny.

Rufconium.

Rufconium, another Roman colony, which owed its origin to Augustus, was seated near the mouth of the Serbes or Serbetis. Ptolemy calls it Rustonium; but we apprehend that he ought to be corrected by Pliny. In the Itinerary we find it named Rufgunix Colonia. It has been imagined, that a small castle on Cape Temenduse or Metafus, fifteen miles east of Algiers, pretty nearly answers to its situation ².

Icosium.

Icosium may seem to have taken up the space on which Algiers was afterwards built: some inscriptions found in this last city are preserved by Gramaye ¹.

Tipasa.

Tipasa, a Roman colony, has been mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Itinerary; but the town was probably of higher antiquity than the conquest of Numidia by the Romans. It was forty-seven miles from Icosium, in the north-eastern direction; which is an additional argument in favour of Algiers being the ancient Icosium, and likewise evinces, that the present Tefessad is the Tipasa of the old geography.

¹ Polyb. Liv. Strab. Mel. Plin. Solin. Appian. Ptol. Dio Cass. &c. ubi supra. ² Itinerary. Antonin. Plin. Ptol. Shaw, ubi supra, & p. 88. ³ Geogr. Nubiens. p. 82. I. Leo. African. p. 204.

The next city of consequence on the sea-coast, to the westward, was Jol, the seat of the younger Juba, who, from the great veneration he had for Augustus, gave it the name of *Cæsarea*, according to Eutropius, Pliny, and Strabo: that it had a port, and an island lying in the mouth of it; we are assured by Strabo; a circumstance which gives us authority to suppose, that the modern *Shershell* answers to the Jol or *Julia Cæsarea* of the ancients. The large circuit and sumptuous remains of an old city at *Shershell*, together with its situation, and many other concurring circumstances, serve likewise to render extremely probable such a supposition: a colony was settled here by the emperor *Claudius*. *Bocchart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the Oriental languages, to signify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the situation of the place, and consequently proves, that it was either founded by the Orientals, or by some of their descendants^m.

The *Canucius* of Ptolemy, *Gunugi* of Pliny, and *Gunugus* of the Itinerary, answering to the *Bresk* of the Algerines, stood about nine miles to the westward from Jol. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a Roman colony planted in it by Augustus, it is now uninhabited.

Cartenna, a very considerable city, was situated near the mouth of the river *Cartennus*, where Augustus settled the soldiers of the second legion. Ptolemy indeed places it some leagues more westerly; but the position he assigns many of his towns is so extremely erroneous, that he deserves no credit, when any shadow of an argument can be offered against himⁿ.

On the western banks of the *Cartennus* the ancients place *Arsenaria*, a town where, if Pliny may be credited, a Latin colony was planted under some of the first Roman emperors. As the last mentioned author lays it down three Roman miles from the sea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* answers to it^o.

The next maritime town of note, in a western direction, is the *Quiza Xenitana*, *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of Ptolemy, *Mela*, Pliny, and the Itinerary. Dr. Shaw maintains *Geeza* to be the ancient *Quiza*; which opinion, as the situation assigned this last was immediately after the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable^p.

^m Strab. lib. xvii. p. 571.

ⁿ Plin. & Ptol. ubi supra. Sal.

lust. in Jugurth. cap. 90. Ptol. lxxviii. 12. Shaw, p. 36.

^o Plin.

ubi supra. & Shaw, p. 23.

^p Mel. Ptol. Itinerar.

Siga.

Siga, an ancient city of great importance, situated at the mouth of a harbour, and upon a river of the same name. According to Pliny, Syphax's palace was here, which, together with the city itself, was demolished in the time of Strabo. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, as we are informed by Ptolemy. Dr. Shaw believes, that the Tafna answers to the river, and Tackumbreet to the town of Siga. It appears from Scylax, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls Sigum. It was the last maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great distance from the Malva, which our learned traveller has, with great appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the same river with the Molochath and Mulucha.

Sitifi and
Satafi.

The first mediterranean cities worthy of notice, to the west of the Ampfaga, were Sitifi and Satafi, sixteen miles from one another. For a farther account of which, our readers may have recourse to Ammianus, Marcellinus, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers.

Auzia.

Auzia or Auzea, a city of great antiquity, if, with Menander Ephesius, we suppose it to be the African city of that name founded by Ithobaal, king of Tyre. Tacitus tells us, that it was built in a small plain, surrounded on all sides with barren forests of a vast extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring Arabs Sour Gullan, *the Walls of the Antelopes*, a great part whereof, flanked at proper distances with little square towers, is still remaining.

Tubusuptus.

Tubusuptus or Tubusuttus, a town mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus, which Lipsius takes to be the Thubuscus besieged by Tacfarinas, according to Tacitus. From what Marcellinus has hinted, it appears to have been situated near the Mons Ferratus.

Nababurum,
Vitaca, &c.

As Nababurum, Vitaca, Uffara, Vazagad, Aufum, Robonda, Zaratha, Chizalá, Lamida, Vafana, Phlorya, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long since buried in oblivion, we shall pass them over in silence, and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, and rivers of this province.

The promontories
of this province.

The first promontories that present themselves to our view, are the Audus and Vabar of Ptolemy. The Ashouhemonker of the Algerines answers to Vabar, having some traces of ancient ruins still remaining upon it. 2. The Promontorium Apollinis of Ptolemy, the Nackes of the Moors, and cape Tennes of the modern geographers. 3. The Pro-

¹ Plin & Polyb. ubi supra. Tacit. Ann. iv. cap. 24. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxix. cap. 24. Justin. Lips. in Tacit. ubi supra.

montorium Magnum of Ptolemy was a large and conspicuous cape near 1 degree east of the Malva or Mulucha. This is at present called by sailors Cape Hone, and by the inhabitants Ras Hunneine and Mellack. It lies about four leagues to the north-east of Twunt, and is a continuation of the mountains of Trara^r.

Amongst the remarkable mountains in the Numidia Mas-sylorum may be ranked that high knot of eminences, which at present distinguish themselves to the southward of the plains of Sudratah, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the ancients Mount Atlas. 2. The Zalacus of Ptolemy, which seems to have had the same position as the present Mount Wannashreefe. 3. Mount Malethubalus, upon the frontiers of Gætulia: this is in the Sahara; and, if we remember right, has not had its modern name brought into Europe. 4. The Durdus of Ptolemy, lying between the mountains of El Callah and Trara. 5. The Mons Phruræsus, immediately succeeding Malethubalus. 6. The Montes Chalcorychii, near the country of the ancient Herpiditani, between Mount Durdus and the Malva or Mulucha.

The mountains.

The most remarkable rivers mentioned by the ancients were, 1. The Audus, placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the Sinus Numidicus, no traces of which are now to be seen. 2. The Sifatis, called at present by the Moors and Algerines the Mansourehah. 3. The Nissava, known at this day by the name of the river of Boujeiah, because it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward of that city. It consists of a number of rivulets falling into it from different directions, and has its source at Jibbel Deera, seventy miles up the country to the W. S. W. 4. The Serbetis, now the Yffer, a large river, whose mouth is about eight leagues from Temenduse, and lies something nearer Rufgunia than Rufuccuræ. We are told, that its sources are from the mountainous district to the S. S. W. that the most western branch of it is called Shurffa, after the name of the neighbouring Arabs; and the other Wed el Zeitoune, that is, the River of Olives, from the vast quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The Savus, a river falling into the sea near Pliny's Icosion, which our learned traveller believes to have had the same situation as the Algiers of the moderns. If this be admitted, the Hammeef bids fairest for the ancient Savus, especially as Leo calls this very river Sessaia, a word nearly approaching to Savus. 6. The Chinalaph of Ptolemy is the most consi-

Rivers.

derable river of the Algerines, who call it Shelliff. It rises in the Sahara, at the distance of eighty miles to the south-east. The fountains which form its source, from their number and contiguity, are known amongst the Arabs by the name Sebbiene Aine, or Sebaoun Ajoun, the Seven Fountains. 7. The Cartennus, to which it is supposed the stream formed by the Sikke and the Habrah answers. Marmol calls a river in this situation Cirat; which gives countenance to the aforesaid supposition. 8. The Flumen Salsum, at present called the Wed el Mailah, is a stream something less than the Cherwell, at Oxford. 9. Assara, a river mentioned by Ptolemy, which may possibly be the same with the Isser of Abulfeda. The Isser is one of the four branches that form the Tafna.

*The islands appertain-
ing to it.*

The only islands that deserve our attention are, 1. The Acra of Scylax, an island, that forms the modern part of Harshgoone, under which vessels of the greatest burden may lie in the utmost safety. 2. The Tres Insulæ of Antoninus, situated about ten miles from the Mulucha, to the north-west of that river.

Its curiosities.

The chief curiosities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a Roman city, called at present Cassir, amongst the Beni Grohberry, to the northward of Jibbel Afroone; upon the mountains adjacent to which the Algerines frequently dig up large pipes of lead, supposed to have formerly conveyed the excellent water those parts produced to Saldæ. 2. The rivulet of salt water, which glides through the valley Dammer Cappy, that is, the Iron Gate. 3. The large salt-pits, five miles to the southward of Arzew. 4. One of the fountains of the Habrah at Nisrag, where the water bursts out with surprising noise and rapidity; as also the hot bath, and several ancient cisterns upon a branch of the Habrah, within eight leagues of the sea. 5. Wunnashreese, a high rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, and remarkable for its lead mines. 6. The Jibbel Minifs, an entire mountain of salt. 7. The Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the ancients, the Hammam or Bath of Mereega of the moderns.

I. Leo African. p. 205.
Antonin. & Shaw, ubi supra.
& Shaw, Pass.

Scylax Caryand. Itinerar.
Geogr. Nubiens. I. Leo Afric.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Numidians.

ALL the authors famous for their researches into anti-
quity agree, that the tract extending from the Isthmus
of Suez to the Lake Tritonis, was chiefly peopled by the de-
scendants of Miseraim; and that the posterity of his brother
Put, or Phut, spread themselves over all the region betwixt
that lake and the Atlantic ocean. It is certain Herodotus
greatly countenances this notion; for he tells us, that the
Libyan Nomades, whose territories, to the west, were bound-
ed by the Triton, agreed in their customs and manners with
the Egyptians; but that the Africans, from that river to the
Atlantic ocean, differed almost in all points from that
people. Ptolemy mentions a city called Putea near Adru-
metum; and Pliny a river of Mauritania Tingitana, known
by the name of Fut or Phut; which seems to confirm this
supposition. The district adjacent to this we find mention-
ed by some authors under the appellation of Regio Phuten-
sis; which plainly alludes to the name Phut: that word sig-
nifies *scattered* or *dispersed*; which very well agrees with
what we find related of the Numidians by Mela and Strabo;
so that we may, without any scruple, admit the Aborigines of
this country to have been the descendants of Phut. It ap-
pears from Eusebius, Procopius, St. Austin, and others,
that the Aborigines were not the only ancient inhabitants
of Numidia, since the Phœnicians in almost the earliest
ages sent colonies thither *.

*The anti-
quity of the
Numidians.*

It may be inferred from Polybius, that the Carthaginians
once possessed all that part of Africa, extending from the con-
fines of Cyrenaica to the Pillars of Hercules: but this, we
apprehend, is to be understood of the sea-coast of that tract:
for it is evident from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Livy,
and other ancient historians, that the interior Numidia, at
least a considerable part of it, was independent on the Car-
thaginians. It is true, the Numidians always assisted the
Carthaginians in their wars; but most of these forces were
upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, sent
in pursuance of solemn engagements entered into by the
princes to whom they belonged. The Carthaginian form of

*Their go-
vernment.*

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 186, 187. Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 1. Plin. v.
cap. 1. Euseb. de loc. Hieron. in Tradit. Hebr. Eustath. in Hex.
lud. in Orig. lib. ix. cap. 2. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 4. Strab. lib. ii.
government

The history of the Numidians.

government, therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of Numidia subject to the state of Carthage, though in others, absolute monarchy took place. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims that formed the basis of it, we are entirely in the dark.

Whether any of the independent princes of Numidia were legislators, or, if so, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their subjects, history does not inform us. The Carthaginian laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongst all the Numidians under the dominion of Carthage; and in other despotic governments, there was probably no other law but the natural dictates of equity, subject, however, to the will of the prince.

As the first Numidians, in common with all the other Indigènes of that vast tract between the borders of Egypt and the Atlantic ocean, were called Libyans, we may infer from Herodotus; that the principal gods they sacrificed to were the Sun and Moon. It is reasonable to presume, that part of this nation subject to Carthage, paid divine honours to the Phœnician and Greek deities, that were the objects of the Carthaginian worship, of which we have already given an ample account.

What language the Numidians spoke, we cannot pretend to determine. That the tongue prevailing, in part of Numidia at least, was different from the Phœnician and Carthaginian, is evident from Sallust and others. However barbarous the Numidians might have been, some of them used letters, not very unlike those that made up the Punic alphabet, as appears from the legends of several ancient Numidian coins.

With regard to the customs of the Numidians, our readers will neither expect nor desire us to be circumstantial: neither the limits we have prescribed ourselves, nor the materials left us by the ancients, will permit us to expatiate on this subject. In order, therefore, to form a general idea of these customs, it will be sufficient to attend to the following observations.

The Numidians were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the same manner as the Arabes Scénite, and not very unlike the present Tartars; excepting that the Numidians had their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their ancestors the ancient Scythians; whereas the circular dou-wars of the Numidians were composed of their mapalia, that is, the hbymas, or tents, of the modern Bedouens nearly correspond. The mapalia, or Numidian frames, or a covering of raw cloth. They were all of the same

same oblong form, resembling the inverted bottom of a ship, in conformity to the description Sallust has given us. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and having consumed all the produce of one fruitful spot, removed from thence to another, which is the custom of their posterity the Bedouens at this day. As this part of Africa consisted of dry and barren sandy deserts, interspersed with fruitful spots, (for which reason Strabo compares it to a leopard's skin), such a way of life was absolutely necessary for those who did not live in cities. Hence it appears that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by Diodorus Siculus, St. Cyril, Epiphanius, Eusebius, and others, must have been either an Egyptian or Syriac word, signifying *part, portion, or division*.

2. Those Numidians who lived in fixed habitations, generally dwelt in small cottages made of hurdles daubed over with mud, or built of some slight materials, in the same manner as the gurbies of the Kabyles are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees, as those of the gurbies are. The Numidians, at least those of Phœnician extraction, called these habitations *magaria*. Dr. Shaw informs us, that the towns or villages formed of these huts are at present built upon eminences, and called by the Kabyles, who inhabit them, *dashkras*.

Some of them lived in small huts or cottages, called magaria.

3. The Numidians rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles; whence Virgil calls them *Numidæ infræni*. As their principal strength consisted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horses from their infancy, they found this no difficult task.

They rode without bridles.

4. According to Strabo, they had a number of wives, concubines, and consequently many children, as the Orientals had, though, in other respects, they were very temperate and abstemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already described.

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

5. The king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him in Numidia, particularly in the country of the Massyli, as we learn from Livy, who, in proof of what he asserts, tells us, that Gala, the father of Masinissa, was succeeded by his next brother Desalces².

The king's brother succeeded to the crown in Numidia.

6. Their diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, and water; and they abstained almost entirely from wine; flesh was sometimes, though not so frequently, used. To this abstinence, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, Appian attributes

The diet of the Numidians.

² Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 29.

their long lives, and the good state of health they enjoyed. That author assures us, that the summers in Numidia were not near so hot as in India and Ethiopia *v*.

*Are clad
in loose
garments.*

7. Many of the poorer sort of people in Numidia went almost naked; but the Numidians of any fashion wore their garments loose, without sash or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the Carthaginians, and most of the other Africans.

*Eminent
for their
skill in
throwing
darts, &c.
Fight in the
night-time.*

8. They were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing darts, which they discharged in vast numbers upon the enemy.

9. We are told, that the Massyli, when at war with their neighbours, for the most part, chose to come to a general action in the night-time.

10. Desertion was no disgrace amongst the Numidians, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleased.

11. In short, there must have been a great variety of customs in Numidia, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were opposite to one another in many particulars. One of these Diodorus calls the Asphadelodians, who were probably of a different cast from the rest, since he informs us, that they were as black as the Ethiopians. According to Hellanicus, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the Libyan Nomades, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they constantly carried about with them. Their small mapalia were made of asphodelus, great quantities of which they provided in the summer-time, in order to have always an agreeable shady retreat.

Arts, &c.

The Numidians, who inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or sciences amongst them. However, they seem to have been eminent for their skill in managing horses (E), and their knowledge in some branches

v Appian. in Libyc. cap. 6, 39, & 64. Strabo, lib. xvii.

(E) These horses were very small, but extremely swift, and easily managed, according to Livy and Strabo. They were satisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirst a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As

they had an ugly gait, a stiff neck, and threw their heads forward, the Numidian horseman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement (1).

(1) Appian. & Strab. ubi sup. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 44, 46. lib. xxii. cap. 48. Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 65. Sil. Ital. lib. iv. Sallust. in Jugurth.

of the military art. Some knowledge likewise of the Egyptian theology, polity, and philosophical notions, we cannot suppose them to have been destitute of; since their ancestors had, for a series of generations, an intercourse with the posterity of Misraim. The present Kabyles and Bedoweens, according to Dr. Shaw, employ their time chiefly in making bykes, or woollen blankets, and burnooes, as they call cloaks or upper garments. In such sort of employment, possibly, some of the ancient rustic Numidians might have been engaged; especially since the aforesaid gentleman imagines the Kabyles to be the remains of the old Africans.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Numidians, from the earliest Accounts of Time, to the Conquest of their Country by the Romans.

NUMIDIA appears to have been but thinly peopled before the first arrival of the Phœnicians. When this happened, we cannot precisely determine; but, according to Eusebius, who is followed by Bochart, and other authors of reputation, it must have been above three hundred years before the foundation of Carthage.

When the Phœnicians came first into Numidia.

The transactions of Numidia, during the earliest centuries, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the Phœnicians were masters of great part of the country, they were recorded, and not unknown in the Carthaginian time. King Iarbas probably reigned here, as well as in Africa Propria, if not in Mauritania, and other parts of Libya, when Dido began to build Byrsa. It appears from Justin, that, about the age of Herodotus, the people of this country were called both Africans or Libyans, and Numidians. Justin likewise intimates, that, about this time, the Carthaginians vanquished both the Moors or Mauritians, and Numidians, who had confederated against them. The consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted ever since Dido's arrival in Africa by the latter. As to the part the Numidians acted in all the wars betwixt the Dionysii, Agathocles, &c. and the Carthaginians, we have already been so copious on that head, that it is unnecessary to expatiate upon it here *.

No accounts of the Numidian affairs for several of the earliest centuries now remaining.

* Georg. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 140. Justin. lib. xix. cap. 2. Appian. in Libyc. sub init.

The Carthaginians treat the Micatanian Numidians with great severity.

After the conclusion of the first Punic war, the African troops carried on a bloody conflict three years against their masters the Carthaginians. The most active in this rebellion, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Micatanian Numidians. These hostilities so incensed the Carthaginians, that, after Hamilcar had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those Numidians. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This barbarity filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they, and their posterity ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians.

Syphax defeated twice by Masinissa.

In the consulate of the younger Fabius and Sempronius Gracchus, Syphax, king of the Massæyli, entered into an alliance with the Romans: he likewise, in a pitched battle, gave the Carthaginians a considerable defeat. This induced Gala, king of the Massyli, to conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians, in consequence of which his son Masinissa marched at the head of a powerful army to give Syphax battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of Carthaginians, as soon as he came up with the Massæyli, he engaged them: the fight was sharp and bloody; but at last Masinissa gained a complete victory, putting thirty thousand of the Massæyli to the sword, and driving Syphax into the country of the Maurusii, or Mauritania. This action checked both the progress of Syphax's arms, and the ambitious projects of the Romans. However, the Massæylian monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of Massæylians and Mauritians; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by Masinissa: but the face of affairs in this country was soon afterwards greatly changed.

A brief account of Masinissa's affairs.

Gala dying whilst his son Masinissa was acting at the head of the Numidian troops sent to the assistance of the Carthaginians in Spain, his brother Desalces, according to the established order of succession in Numidia, took possession of the Massylian throne. That prince dying also soon after his accession, Capusa, his eldest son, succeeded him: but he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for Mezetulus, a person of the royal blood, but an enemy to the family of Gala, found means to excite great part of his subjects to revolt. This enabled him to form a considerable corps, and

to bring Capusa to a general action ; which ending in his favour, and Capusa, with many of the noblesse, being slain, he obtained the Massylian crown, as the reward of his victory. However, he did not assume the title of king, contenting himself with that of guardian to Lacumaces, the surviving son of Desalces, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the dowager of Desalces, who was Hannibal's niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in Carthage : he likewise sent ambassadors to Syphax, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time Masinissa, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his cousin's fate, and of Mezetulus's usurpation, immediately passed over to Africa, and proceeded to the court of Bocchar, king of Mauritania, to solicit succours. Bocchar, sensible of the great injustice offered Masinissa, furnished him a body of four thousand Moors to escort him to his dominions. His subjects apprised of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The Moors, in pursuance of their orders, returned as soon as Masinissa reached the confines of his kingdom. Notwithstanding which retreat, and the small body that declared for him, having intercepted Lacumaces at Thapsus, with an escort going to implore Syphax's assistance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by assault, after a faint resistance. However, Lacumaces, with many of his troops, found means to escape to Syphax. The fame of this exploit gained Masinissa great credit, insomuch that the Numidians crowded to him from all parts, and, amongst the rest, many of his father Gala's veterans, who pressed him to make a speedy and vigorous push for his hereditary dominions. Lacumaces having joined Mezetulus with a reinforcement of Massæsylians, which he had prevailed upon Syphax to send to the assistance of his ally, the usurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer Masinissa battle ; which that prince, though much inferior in numbers, did not decline. An engagement ensued ; which, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, ended in the defeat of Lacumaces. The immediate consequence of this victory to Masinissa, was a quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdom ; Mezetulus and Lacumaces, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of Carthage. However, being apprehensive that he should be obliged to sustain a war against Syphax, he offered to treat Lacumaces with as many marks of distinction as his father Gala had granted to Desalces, provided that prince would put himself under his protection. He also promised Mezetulus pardon, and a restitution of all

The History of the Numidians.

the estates forfeited by his treasonable conduct, if he would make his submission. Both of them readily complied with the proposal, and immediately returned; so that the tranquility and repose of Numidia would have been settled upon a solid and lasting foundation, had it not been prevented by Asdrubal, who was then at Syphax's court. He insinuated to that prince, who was disposed to live amicably with his neighbours, that he was greatly deceived, if he imagined Masinissa would be satisfied with his hereditary dominions; that he was a prince of much greater capacity and ambition than either his father Gala, his uncle Desalces, or any of his family; that he had discovered in Spain marks of uncommon ability; and that, in short, unless his rising flame was extinguished before it came to too great a head, both the Massæsylian and Carthaginian states would be infallibly consumed by it. Syphax, alarmed by these suggestions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a district which had long been in dispute between him and Gala, but was then in possession of Masinissa. This motion brought on a general action between these two princes, wherein the latter, was totally defeated, his army dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly to the top of Mount Balbus, attended only by a few of his horse. Such a decisive battle at the present juncture, before Masinissa was fixed in his throne, put Syphax into possession of the kingdom of the Massyli. Masinissa in the mean time made nocturnal incursions from his post upon Mount Balbus, and plundered the adjacent country, particularly that part of the Carthaginian territory contiguous to Numidia. This province he not only pillaged, but likewise destroyed with fire and sword, carrying off an immense booty, which was bought by some merchants who had put into one of the Carthaginian ports. In fine, he did the Carthaginians more damage, not only in committing such dreadful devastations, but by massacring and carrying into captivity great numbers of their subjects on this occasion, than they could have sustained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of a regular war. Syphax, at the pressing remonstrances of the Carthaginians, sent Bocchar, one of his most active commanders, with a detachment of four thousand foot and two thousand horse, to reduce this dangerous gang of robbers, promising him a great reward, if he would bring Masinissa either alive or dead. Bocchar, watching an opportunity, surpris'd the Massylians, as they were straggling about the country without order or discipline; so that he took many prisoners, dispersed the rest, and pursued Masinissa himself, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had before taken post.

Considering

Considering the expedition at an end, he not only sent many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to Syphax, but likewise all the forces, except five hundred foot and two hundred horse. With this detachment he drove Masinissa from the summit of the hill, and pursued him through several narrow passes and defiles, as far as the plains of Clupea. Here he surrounded him in such a manner, that all the Massylians, except four, were put to the sword, and Masinissa himself, after having received a dangerous wound, escaped with the utmost difficulty. As this escape was effected by crossing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants perished in sight of the detachment that pursued him, it was rumoured all over Africa that Masinissa also was drowned; a report which gave inexpressible pleasure to Syphax and the Carthaginians. For some time he lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the robberies of the two horsemen who had escaped with him. But having cured his wound, by the application of some medical herbs, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, publicly declaring, that he intended once more to take possession of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horse, and, soon after his arrival amongst the Massyli, so many people joined his standard, that he was enabled to form an army of six thousand foot and four thousand horse. With these forces he not only reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, but likewise ravaged the borders of the Massyli. This irruption so irritated Syphax, that he immediately assembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiously upon a ridge of mountains between Cirta and Hippo. He commanded his army in person, and detached his son Vermina, with a considerable force, to take a compass, and attack the enemy in the rear. In pursuance of his orders Vermina marched, in the beginning of the night, and took post in the place appointed, without being discovered by the enemy. In the mean time Syphax decamped, and advanced towards the Massyli in order of battle. When he had possessed himself of a rising ground that led to their camp, and concluded that his son Vermina must have formed the ambuscade behind them, he began the fight. Masinissa being advantageously posted, and his soldiers distinguishing themselves in an extraordinary manner, the dispute was long and bloody. But Vermina unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this charge, obliging them to divide their forces, which were scarce able before to oppose the main body under Syphax, they were soon thrown into confusion, and forced to a precipitate

cipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by Syphax, and partly by his son, such a dreadful slaughter was made of the unhappy Maslyli, that only Masinissa himself, with sixty horse, escaped to the Lesser Syrtis. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the Carthaginians and Garamantes, till the arrival of Lælius, and the Roman fleet, on the coast of Africa. What happened immediately after this junction with the Romans, our readers will find related at large in that part of this work, to which it more properly belongs.

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax and Masinissa.

Yr. of Fl.
216.
Ante Chr.
192.

We have already observed that the Carthaginians lost Masinissa by depriving him of his dear Sophonisba. That lady was versed in various branches of literature, excellently skilled in music, the greatest beauty of her age, and of such exquisite charms in every respect, that either her voice alone, or a sight of her, was deemed sufficient to captivate the most rigid and severe philosopher. Masinissa, therefore, could never forgive the mortifying affront given him by the state of Carthage, when her father Asdrubal, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to Syphax. The Carthaginians, however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their interest, and prevailed upon Syphax to restore him his dominions. Masinissa, to have ample revenge both of Syphax and the Carthaginians, appeared to be entirely satisfied with so generous a cession, and outwardly expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though, at the same time, he was secretly meditating their ruin with the Romans. Asdrubal had either some private intelligence, or entertained a suspicion of this correspondence, and therefore laid an ambuscade for Masinissa, which that prince happily escaped. Syphax, in the mean time, pretended an attachment to the Romans, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the Carthaginians, at the earnest solicitations of his wife, whose charms he found himself incapable of resisting. The consequences, both of his conduct and that of his rival Masinissa, have been already fully related: it will be sufficient, therefore, in this place to observe, that, by the assistance of Lælius, Masinissa at last reduced Syphax's kingdom. According to Zonaras, Masinissa and Scipio, before the memorable battle of Zama, by a stratagem deprived Hannibal of some advantageous posts, which, with a solar eclipse happening during the heat of the action, that intimidated the Carthaginian troops, greatly contributed to the victory the Romans obtained. At the conclusion, therefore, of the second Punic war, he was amply rewarded by the Romans for the important services he had performed. Syphax, after the loss of his dominions,

was kept in confinement for some time at Alba, from whence being removed in order to grace Scipio's triumph, he died at Tibur, in his way to Rome. Zonaras adds, that his corpse was decently interred; that all the Numidian prisoners were released; and that Vermina, by the assistance of the Romans, took peaceable possession of his father's throne. However, part of the Massæsylian kingdom was before annexed to Masinissa's dominions, in order to reward that prince for his singular fidelity and attachment to the Romans^b.

As an account of the principal transactions in which Masinissa was concerned between the second and third Punic wars, has been already extracted from the best ancient historians, we cannot pretend to touch upon any of them without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing, therefore, is farther requisite, in order to complete the history of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view some points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the close of life; the wife dispositions made after his death by Æmilianus, in order to regulate his domestic affairs; and some particulars relating to his character and genius, drawn from the most celebrated Greek and Roman authors.

By drawing a line of circumvallation round the Carthaginian army under Asdrubal, posted upon an eminence, Masinissa cut off all manner of supplies from them; a work which introduced both the plague and the famine into their camp. As the body of Numidian troops employed in this blockade was not near so numerous as the Carthaginian forces, it is evident that the line must have been extremely strong, and consequently the effect of great labour and art. The Carthaginians, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which Masinissa dictated: 1. That they should deliver up all deserters. 2. That they should recall the exiles who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they should pay him five thousand talents of silver within the space of fifty years. 4. That their soldiers should pass under the jugum, each of them carrying off only a single garment. As Masinissa himself, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprise, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This transaction happened a short time before the beginning of the third Punic war^c.

Masinissa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

^b Appian. in Libyc. cap. 6. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 43. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 11, 12. Polyæn. Strat. lib. viii. cap. 16. ex. 7. ^c Appian. in Libyc. cap. 40, 1.

Masiniſſa *
diſguſted at
the Ro-
mans.

Soon after the conſuls landed an army in Africa in order to beſiege Carthage, without imparting to Maſiniſſa their deſign. This omiſſion not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the Romans, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions, and conſulted him on all occaſions. When, therefore, the conſuls applied for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he answered, that they ſhould have a reinforcement from him when they ſtood in need of it. It was extremely provoking to conſider, that after he had greatly weakened the Carthaginians, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his imperious friends ſhould come to reap the fruits of his victory without giving him the leaſt intelligence of their plan.

He dies.

However, his mind ſoon after returned to its natural inclination in favour of the Romans. Finding his end approaching, he ſent to deſire a viſit of Æmilianus. What he propoſed by this viſit, was to inveſt him with full powers to diſpoſe of his kingdom and eſtate as he ſhould think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this ſtep; but believing that death would not permit him to have a perſonal conference with Æmilianus upon this ſubject, he informed his wife and children in his laſt moments, that he had inpowered him to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all his poſſeſſions, and to divide his kingdom amongſt his ſons. To which he ſubjoined, "I require, that whatever Æmilianus may decree, ſhall be executed as punctually as if I myſelf had appointed it by my will." Having uttered theſe words he expired, at above ninety years of age^d.

Some particulars relating to his character.

This prince, during his youth, had experienced ſtrange reverſes of fortune, as appears from ſeveral preceding parts of this hiſtory. However, he afterwards enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity for a long ſeries of years. His kingdom extended from Mauritania to the weſtern confines of Cyrenaica; ſo that he was one of the moſt powerful princes in Africa. Many of the inhabitants of this vaſt tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their ſoil, and to reap thoſe natural advantages which the fertility of ſome parts of their country afforded. He was of a more robuſt habit of body than any of his contemporaries, being bleſſed with the greateſt health and vigour, which was doubtleſs owing to his extreme temperance, and the

toils he incessantly sustained. We are informed by Polybius, that sometimes he stood upon the same spot of ground from morning till evening, without the least motion, and at others continued as long in a sitting posture. He would remain on horseback for several days and nights together, without being sensible of the least fatigue. Nothing can better evince the strength of his constitution than the age of his youngest son, named Stembal, Sthemba, or Stembanus, who was but four years old at his decease. Though ninety years of age he performed all the exercises used by young men, and always rode without a saddle. Pliny says, that he reigned above sixty years. He was an able commander, and greatly contributed to the reduction of Carthage. Plutarch from Polybius observes, that the day after a great victory won over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. Suidas relates, that to the last he could mount his horse without assistance. According to Appian, he left a numerous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth.

Masinissa, before his death, gave his ring to his eldest son Micipsa; but left the distribution of all his other (F) effects and possessions amongst his children. Of fifty-four sons that survived him only three were legitimate, namely, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Æmilianus arriving at Cirta after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongst these three, though to the others he gave considerable possessions. To Micipsa, who was a prince of a pacific disposition, and the eldest son, he assigned Cirta, the metropolis, for the place of his residence, in exclusion of the others. Gulussa, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the transacting of all affairs relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And Mastanabal, or, according to Livy and Sallust, Manastabal, the youngest, had the administration of justice, an employment suitable to his education. They enjoyed in common the immense treasures Masinissa had

Æmilianus divides his kingdom and effects amongst his three sons.

* Appian. in Libyc. cap. 63. Val. Max. ubi supra. Strab. lib. xvii. Polyb. in Fragm. p. 1013. edit. Caufab. 1619.

(F) It is said that Masinissa was served in earthen-ware, after the Roman fashion; but all the strangers at his table in plate. The second service, or desert, was adorned with golden baskets, in conformity to the Italian custom, so ingeniously worked, that they resembled those made of twigs, rushes, &c. Greek musicians likewise attended his entertainments (1).

(1) Ptol. Comment. l. lib. viii. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vi.

amassed,

amassed, and were all dignified by Æmilianus with the royal title. After he had made these wise dispositions that young nobleman departed from Cirta, taking with him a body of Numidian troops, under the conduct of Gulussa, to reinforce the Roman army, which was then acting against the Carthaginians ^f.

*Maftana-
bal and
Gulussa die
soon after
their father
Mafiniffa.*

Maftanabal and Gulussa died soon after their father, as appears from the exprefs testimony of Sallust. We find nothing more remarkable of these princes besides what has been already related, but that the latter continued to assist the Romans in the third Punic war; and that the former was pretty well versed in the Greek language. Micipsa, therefore, became the sole possessor of the kingdom of Numidia. In his reign, during the consulat of M. Plautius Hypsæus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, according to Orosius, great part of Asia was infested with locusts, which destroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood; but at last they were all carried away by the wind into the African sea, out of which being thrown in vast heaps upon the shore, a plague ensued, which swept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In Numidia alone eight hundred thousand men perished, and in Africa Propria two hundred thousand: amongst the rest thirty thousand Roman soldiers, quartered in and about Utica for the defence of the last province. At Utica in particular the mortality raged to such a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. Micipsa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew Jugurtha. That young prince was the son of Maftanabal; but his mother having been only a concubine, Mafiniffa had taken no great notice of him. However Micipsa, considering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him as he did of his own children ^g.

Jugurtha possessed several eminent qualities, which gained him universal esteem. He was very handsome, endued with great strength of body, and adorned with the finest intellectual endowments. He did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure: he used to exercise himself with persons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exercises, suited to the martial genius of the Numidians. The chase was his chief delight; but it was that of lions and other savage

^f Appian. ubi supra, cap. 63, 64. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2. Liv. ubi sup. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 27. p. 464, 465. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vi. ^g Sallust. in Jugurth. cap. 5. Liv. epit. l. Appian. in Libyc. Oros. lib. v. cap. 11.

beasts. Sallust, to finish his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections at first charmed Micipsa, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he soon began to reflect, that he was considerably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirsted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. These reflections soon excited his jealousy, and determined him to expose Jugurtha to a variety of dangers, some of which might prove fatal. With this view he gave him the command of a body of forces, raised to assist the Romans, who were at that time besieging Numantia in Spain. Jugurtha, however, by his admirable conduct, not only escaped all these dangers, but likewise gained the esteem of the whole army, and the friendship of Scipio, who sent a high character of him to his uncle Micipsa. However, that general gave him some prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, observing, no doubt, in him certain sparks of ambition, which, if blown into a flame, he apprehended might one day be productive of the most fatal consequences ^b.

*Micipsa
jealous of
his nephew
Jugurtha.*

Before this last experiment, Micipsa had endeavoured to devise some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the Numidians obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of this nature. After his return from Spain, he was almost adored by the whole nation. The heroic bravery he had displayed, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous caution and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous testimonials of his conduct given by Scipio, attracted universal esteem: even Micipsa himself, charmed with the high idea the Roman general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness; he, therefore, adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons to the crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed-side, where, in the presence of the whole court, he desired Jugurtha to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently he ought to be grateful in return. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now by their father's bounty

*Jugurtha's
perfidious-
ness and
cruelty.*

^b Sallust, ubi supra. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 9.

become

become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He farther insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where (continued he), can we find better friends than in brothers? and how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon strangers?" Then addressing himself to Adherbal and Hiempsal, ("And you (said he), I enjoin you always to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha. Endeavour to imitate, and if possible surpass his exalted merit, that the world may not hereafter observe Micipsa's adopted son to have reflected greater glory upon his memory than his own children.") Soon after Micipsa, who, according to Diodorus, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though Jugurtha did not believe the king spoke his real sentiments with regard to him, yet he seemed extremely pleased with so gracious a speech, and made him an answer suitable to the occasion. However, that prince at the same time was determined to put in execution the scheme he had formed at the siege of Numantia, which was suggested by some factious and abandoned Roman officers, with whom he contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this scheme was, that he should extort the crown by force from his two cousins, as soon as their father's eyes were closed; a scheme which, they insinuated, might be easily effected by his own valour and the venality of the Romans. Accordingly, a short time after the old king's death, he found means to assassinate Hiempsal in the city of Thirmida, where his treasures were deposited, and drive Adherbal out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himself obliged to fly to Rome, where he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers to espouse his quarrel; but, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, they had not virtue enough effectually to support him. Jugurtha's ambassadors, by distributing vast sums of money amongst the senators, brought them so far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. This indulgence encouraged those ministers to declare, that Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians for his excessive cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor in the late troubles; and that he was only incensed because he could not make that havock amongst his countrymen he would willingly have done. They therefore entreated the senate to form a judgment of Jugurtha's behaviour in Africa from his conduct at Numantia, rather than from the suggestions

of his enemies. Upon which by far the greatest part of the senate discovered themselves prejudiced in his favour.

- A few, however, that were not lost to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, insisted upon bringing him to condign punishment: but as they could not prevail, he had the best part of Numidia allotted him, and Adherbal was forced to rest satisfied with the other ¹.

Jugurtha, finding by experience that every thing was venal at Rome, thought he might pursue his ambitious projects without any obstruction from that quarter. He, therefore, immediately after the last division of Micipsa's dominions, threw off the mask, and attacked his cousin by open force: he pillaged his territories, stormed several of his fortresses, and over-ran a good part of his kingdom without opposition. Adherbal, depending upon the friendship of the Romans, which his father in his last moments assured him would be a stronger support to him than all the troops and treasures in the universe, dispatched deputies to Rome, to complain of these hostilities: but whilst he lost his time in sending thither fruitless deputations, Jugurtha vanquished him in a pitched battle, and soon after invested him in Cirta. During the siege of this city, a Roman commission arrived, in order to persuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding Jugurtha untractable, the commissioners returned, without even conferring with Adherbal. A second deputation, composed of senators of the highest distinction, with Ænilius Scaurus, president of the senate, at their head, landed some time after at Utica, and summoned Jugurtha to appear before them. That prince at first seemed to be under dreadful apprehensions, especially as Scaurus reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the resentment of the Romans, if he did not immediately raise the siege of Cirta. However, the Numidian, by his address, and the irresistible power of gold, so appeased Scaurus, that he left Adherbal at his mercy. In fine, Cirta was at last surrendered to him, upon condition only that he should spare the life of Adherbal; but the merciless tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he took possession of the town, ordered the unhappy prince to be put to a most cruel death: the merchants, likewise, and all the Numidians in the place capable of bearing arms, he caused, without distinction, to be put to the sword ².

Every person at Rome, inspired with any sentiments of humanity, was struck with horror at the news of this tra-

*He bribes
the Roman
senate, and
massacres
Adherbal.*

¹ Sallust. & Flor. ubi sup. Eut. lib. iv. cap. 26. Oros. lib. v. cap. 15.

² Ibidem. ibid. Liv. epit. lxiv.

*He corrupts
Bestia and
Scaurus.*

Yr. of Fl.
2238.
Ante Chr.
110.

gical event. However, all the venal senators still concurred with Jugurtha's ministers in palliating his enormous crimes. Nevertheless, the people, excited by Caius Memmius their tribune, who bitterly inveighed against the venality of the senate, resolved not to allow so flagrant an instance of villainy go unpunished. This disposition induced the conscript fathers likewise to declare their intention to chastise Jugurtha; an army was levied to invade Numidia, and the command given to the consul Calpurnius Bestia, a person of abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition by his insatiable avarice. Jugurtha, being informed of the great preparations making at Rome to attack his dominions, sent his son thither to avert the impending storm. The young prince was plentifully supplied with money, which he had orders to distribute liberally amongst the leading men: but Bestia, proposing to himself great advantages from an invasion of Numidia, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree passed, ordering him and his attendants to depart Italy in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king himself, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition. Which decree being notified to them, they returned without having entered the gates of Rome; and the consul soon after landed with a powerful army in Africa. For some time he carried on the war with vigour, reduced several fortresses, and took many Numidians prisoners: but upon the arrival of Scaurus, a peace was granted Jugurtha upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from Vacca, the place of his residence, to the Roman camp, in order to confer with Bestia and Scaurus, and the preliminaries of the treaty being settled between them in private conferences, every person at Rome was convinced, that the prince of the senate and the consul had sacrificed the republic to their avarice. The indignation, therefore, of the people in general displayed itself in the strongest manner. Memmius also inflamed them with his harangues. It was therefore resolved to dispatch the prætor Cassius, a person they could confide in, to Numidia, to prevail upon Jugurtha to come to Rome, that they might learn from the king himself which of their generals and senators had been seduced by the pestilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival, he found means to bribe Bæbius Salca, a man of great authority amongst the plebeians, but of insatiable avarice, by whose assistance he escaped with impunity. By the efficacy of gold, he not only eluded all the endeavours of the people of Rome to bring him to justice, but likewise enabled Bomilcar, one of his attendants, to get Massiva, an illegitimate son of Micipsa, assassinated in the streets of Rome: that young prince

was advised by many Romans of probity, well-wishers to the family of Masinissa, to apply for the kingdom of Numidia; which advice coming to Jugurtha's ears, he prevented the application by this execrable step. However, he was obliged to leave Italy immediately.

Jugurtha had scarce set foot in Africa, when he received advice, that the senate had annulled the shameful peace concluded with him by Bestia and Scaurus. Soon after, the consul Albinus transported a Roman army into Numidia, flattering himself with the hopes of reducing Jugurtha to reason before the expiration of his consulate. In this however he found himself deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, so amused and imposed upon Albinus, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This inactivity rendered him strongly suspected of having betrayed his country after the example of his predecessors. His brother Aulus, who succeeded him in the command of the army, was still more unsuccessful; for, after rising from before Suthul, where the king's treasures were deposited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself. He therefore was obliged to submit to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the jugum, with all his men, and to quit Numidia in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate destruction. The avaricious disposition of the Roman commander induced him to besiege Suthul, the possession of which place, he imagined, would make him master of all the wealth of Jugurtha, and consequently paved the way to such a scandalous treaty. However, this was declared void when known at Rome, being concluded without the authority of the people. The Roman troops retired into Africa Propria, which they had now reduced into the form of a Roman province, and took up their winter-quarters¹.

In the mean time Caius Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the people, excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of those persons, by whose assistance Jugurtha had found means to elude all the decrees of the senate. This inquiry put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occasioned a prosecution of the guilty senators, that was carried on, for some time, with the utmost heat and violence. During these transactions, the consul Lucius Metellus had Numidia assigned him for his province, and consequently was appointed general of the army destined to act against Jugurtha. As he disregarded wealth, the Numidian found him superior to all his temptations. To this incorruptibility

Obliges the Roman army to pass under the jugum, and quit Numidia.

Defeated by Metellus.

¹ Sallust. Flor. Oros. ubi sup.

he joined all the other virtues, which constitute the great general; so that Jugurtha found him in all respects inaccessible. That prince therefore was now obliged to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of Metellus, with the greatest caution, and exert his utmost bravery, in order to compensate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. Marius, Metellus's lieutenant, being likewise a person of uncommon merit, the Romans reduced Vacca, a large, opulent city, and the most celebrated mart in Numidia. They also defeated Jugurtha in a pitched battle; overthrew Bomilcar, one of his generals, upon the banks of the Muthullus; and, in short, forced the Numidian monarch to take shelter in a place rendered almost inaccessible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, Jugurtha signalized himself in a surprising manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention, of a consummate general, to whom despair administers fresh strength, and suggests new lights. But his troops could not stand against the Romans; they were again worsted by Marius, though they obliged Metellus to raise the siege of Zama. Jugurtha therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his cities plundered, his fortresses reduced, his towns burnt, vast numbers of his subjects put to the sword, and taken prisoners, began to think seriously of coming to an accommodation with the Romans. His favourite Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the highest confidence, but who had been seduced by Metellus, observing this disposition, found it no difficult matter to persuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horses, and deserters, in whom the chief strength of his army consisted, into the hands of the Romans. Some of these last, in order to avoid the punishment due to their crime, retired to Bocchus king of Mauritania, and listed in his service. But Metellus ordering him to repair to Tisidium, a city of Numidia, to receive farther directions, and he refusing a compliance with that order, hostilities renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now seemed to declare in favour of Jugurtha: he retook Vacca, and massacred all the Roman garrison, except Turpilius, the commandant. However, soon after a Roman legion again surprised it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity. About this time, one of Mastanabal's sons, named Gauda, whom Micipsa, in his will, had appointed to succeed to the crown, in case his two legitimate sons and Jugurtha should die without issue, wrote to the senate in favour of Marius, who was then endeavouring to supplant Metellus; the occasion and effect of

which solicitation has already been related. That prince, having his understanding impaired by a declining state of health, fell a more easy prey to the base and infamous adulation of Marius. The Roman soothing his vanity, assured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the Numidian throne, as soon as Jugurtha was either killed or taken; and that this must in a short time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the Roman army with an unlimited commission. Soon after, Bomilcar and Nabdalsa formed a design to assassinate Jugurtha at the instigation of Metellus; but this scheme being discovered, Bomilcar, and most of his accomplices, suffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot however had such an effect upon Jugurtha, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquility or repose. He suspected persons of all denominations, Numidians as well as foreigners, of nefarious designs against him. Perpetual terrors sat brooding over his mind; insomuch that he never enjoyed a moment's sleep, but by stealth. Starting from his sleep, he would frequently snatch his sword, and break out into the most lamentable cries. So strongly was he haunted by a spirit of fear, jealousy, and distraction^m.

Jugurtha having destroyed great numbers of his friends, on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, and many more deserting to the Romans and Bocchus king of Mauritania, he found himself destitute of counsellors, generals, and persons capable of assisting him in carrying on the war. The consciousness of his deplorable situation threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him dissatisfied with every thing, and made him harass his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity against the enemy, and at others retreat with no less expedition. Then he resumed his former courage; but soon after despaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unsuccessful, and at last he was forced by Metellus to a battle. That part of the Numidian army Jugurtha commanded, behaved with some resolution; but the other fled at the first attack. The Romans therefore entirely defeated them, took all their standards, and made a few prisoners. Not many of them were slain in the action, since, as Ballust observes, the Nu-

*Over-
thrown a
second time
by him.*

^m *Iidem ibid. Liv. Epit. lxx. Plut. in Mar. Veil. Patere. lib. ii. cap. 11.*

midians trusted more to their heels than to their arms for safety in this engagementⁿ.

Yr. of Fl.

2242.

Ante Chr.

106.

*Metellus
takes Thala.*

Metellus pursued Jugurtha and his fugitives to Thala, a city we have formerly described. His march to this place, being through vast deserts, was extremely tedious and difficult. But being supplied with leathern bottles and wooden vessels of all sizes, taken from the huts of the Numidians, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had submitted, he advanced towards that city. He had no sooner begun his march, than a most copious shower of rain, an incident very uncommon in those deserts, proved a great and seasonable refreshment to his troops. Thus animated, upon their arrival before Thala, they attacked the town with such vigour, that Jugurtha, with his family, and treasures deposited therein, thought proper to abandon the place. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the garrison, consisting of Roman deserters, setting fire to the king's palace, and consuming themselves, together with every thing valuable, in the flames. Jugurtha, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into Gætulia, where he raised a considerable force. From thence he advanced to the confines of Mauritania, and engaged Bocchus, king of that country, who had married his daughter, to enter into an alliance with him. In consequence of which, having reinforced his Gætulian troops with a powerful body of Mauritanians, he, in return, obliged Metellus to keep close within his intrenchments. Sallust informs us, that Jugurtha bribed Bocchus's ministers to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he insinuated, that, should Numidia be subdued, Mauritania must be involved in its ruin, especially as the Romans had vowed the destruction of all the kingdoms in the universe. In support of what he advanced, he produced several instances very apposite to the point in view. However, Bocchus was determined to assist Jugurtha against his enemies for the slight the Romans had formerly shewn him. That prince, at the first breaking out of this war, sent ambassadors to Rome, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the republic; which, though of the greatest importance at that juncture, a few of the most venal, corrupt, and infamous senators prevented it from taking effect. This contempt undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon Bocchus in favour of Jugurtha, than their affinity of blood; for both the Moors and Numidians adapted the number of their wives to their

ⁿ Sallust. Liv. Patere. Orof. ubi sup. Europ. ubi sup. cap. 27.

circumstances, so that some had ten or twenty to their share. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this respect, and of course all degrees of kindred, resulting to them from marriage, had little force*.

Such was the situation of affairs in Numidia, when Metellus received advice of the promotion of Marius to the consulate. What effect these tidings had upon that excellent, though much injured, commander, has been already observed. But notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, though this would facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. With this view ambassadors were dispatched to the Mauritanian court, who intimated to Bocchus, that it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture with the Romans without any just cause; and that he had now a fine opportunity of concluding an advantageous treaty with them, which was far preferable to a war. To which they added, that whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, he ought not to run the hazard of losing his dominions by embroiling himself with other states, when he could easily avoid coming to this extremity; that it was much easier to begin a war, than to terminate it, which the victor alone could effect; that, in fine, he would by no means consult the interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate fortune of Jugurtha. To which Bocchus replied, that, for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than peace; but that he could not help lamenting the deplorable state of Jugurtha; that if the Romans therefore would grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they had offered him, he would promote an accommodation. Metellus informed the Mauritanian monarch that it was not in his power to comply with his request. However, he still carried on a private negociation with him till the arrival of the new consul Marius. By this conduct he compassed two salutary purposes: first, he prevented Bocchus from coming to a general action with his troops; which was Jugurtha's principal object, in expectation that, whatever the event might be, it would render a reconciliation between him and the Romans impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to trace the genius and disposition of the Moors, a nation, of whom the Romans, till then, had scarce formed any idea^p.

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus from the interest of Jugurtha.

* *Iidem* *ibid.* Strab. lib. xvii. Vide & Bern. Aldret. ubi supra. p. 400, 401. & seq. ^p Sallust. Vell. Patere. & Plut. ubi sup.

*Marius reduces Cap-
sa.*

Jugurtha being informed that Marius, with a numerous army, was landed at Utica, advised Bocchus to retire, with part of the troops, to some place of security, whilst he posted himself upon another inaccessible spot with the remaining corps. By this manœuvre, he hoped the Romans would be obliged to divide their forces, and consequently be more exposed to his efforts and attacks. He likewise imagined, that, seeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy incapable to make head against them; a belief which might occasion a relaxation of discipline, the usual attendant of a too great security, and consequently produce some advantageous effect. However, both these views were frustrated; for Marius, far from suffering a relaxation of discipline to take place, trained up his troops, which consisted chiefly of new levies, in so perfect a manner, that they were soon equal in military skill to any consular army that ever appeared in the field. He also cut off great numbers of the Gætulian marauders, defeated many of Jugurtha's parties, and that prince himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, near the city of Cirta. These advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated Bocchus, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the Romans, not being convinced of his sincerity, paid little attention to his proposals. In the mean time Marius pushed on his conquests, reducing several places of less note, and at last resolved to besiege Capsa. That this enterprize might be conducted with the greatest secrecy, he suffered not the least hint of his design to transpire, even amongst any of his officers; on the contrary, in order to delude them, he detached A. Manlius, one of his lieutenants, with some light-armed cohorts, to the city of Lares, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and deposited the military chest. Before Manlius left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuse him, he intimated, that he should, with the army, take the same route in a few days; but, instead of that measure, he bent his march towards the Tanais, and, in six days, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a short time, in order to refresh his troops; then he advanced to Capsa, and made himself master of it, in the manner already related. The situation of this city being extremely commodious to Jugurtha, and having greatly favoured his plan of operations, ever since the commencement of the war, he levelled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewise, being more zealously attached to that prince than any of the other Numidians, on account of the extraordinary privileges he granted them,

and, of course, bearing a more implacable hatred to the Romans, he put to the sword, or sold for slaves. The true motive of the consul's conduct on this occasion seems here to be assigned, though we are told by Sallust, in conformity to the Roman genius, that neither avarice nor resentment prompted him to so barbarous an action, but only a desire to strike a terror into the Numidians ¹.

The Numidians, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of Marius, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed the glory of all his predecessor's great achievements, particularly the reduction of Thala, a city, in strength and situation, nearly equal to Capsa. Pursuing this stroke, he gradually presented himself before most of the places of strength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates to him, or were abandoned, at his approach. Others, which were taken by force, he laid in ashes; and, in fine, filled the greatest part of Numidia with blood, horror, and confusion. After an obstinate defence, he reduced a castle, that seemed impregnable, seated near Mulucha, where Jugurtha kept part of his treasures. In the mean time Jugurtha, not being able to prevail upon Bocchus, by his repeated solicitations, to advance into Numidia, where he found himself greatly pressed, was obliged to have recourse to his usual method of bribing the Mauritanian ministers, in order to put the forces of that prince in motion. He also promised him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the Romans out of Africa, or obtain all the Numidian dominions agreeable to treaty ².

*Jugurtha
prevails
upon Boc-
chus to as-
sist him.*

So considerable a cession could not fail of engaging Bocchus to support Jugurtha with his whole power. The two African monarchs, therefore, having united their forces, surprised Marius near Cirta, as he was retiring into winter-quarters. The Roman general was so harassed on this occasion, that the Barbarians thought themselves certain of victory, and doubted not but they should be able to extinguish the Roman name in Numidia; but their incautious conduct and too great security, enabled Marius to defeat them totally: this was followed four days after by so complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, consisting of ninety thousand men, by the accession of a powerful corps of Moors, commanded by Bocchus's son Volux, was entirely destroyed. Sylla, Marius's lieutenant, eminently distinguished himself in the last action, and here laid the

Yr. of Fl.
724.
Ante Chr.
105.

*They are
defeated by
Marius,
upon which
Bocchus de-
livers up
Jugurtha
to the Ro-
mans.*

¹ Sallust. Liv. Flor. Plut. Eutrop. Orof. ubi supra. ² Sallust. Flor. Plut. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 9. ex. 3.

foundation of his future greatness. Bocchus, now looking upon Jugurtha's condition as desperate, and unwilling to run the risk of losing his own dominions, shewed a disposition to make peace with Rome. However, the republic gave him to understand, that he must not expect to be ranked amongst their friends, till he had delivered up Jugurtha to the consul, he being considered as the inveterate enemy of the Roman name. The Mauritanian monarch, being ambitious of an alliance with that state, resolved to gratify it in this particular, and was confirmed in his resolution by one Dabar, a Numidian prince, the son of Massugrada, descended by his mother's side from Masinissa. Being closely attached to the Romans, and extremely agreeable to Bocchus, on account of his noble disposition, he defeated all the intrigues of Aspar, Jugurtha's minister. Upon Sylla's arrival at the Mauritanian court, the negotiation seemed to be entirely settled: however, Bocchus, who was continually projecting new designs, and, like the rest of his countrymen, in the highest degree perfidious, deliberated with himself, whether he should sacrifice Sylla or Jugurtha, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of sentiments: the sudden changes, which displayed themselves in his countenance, his air, and his whole person, evidently demonstrated how violently his mind was agitated; but at last he reverted to his first design, to which the bias of his mind seemed naturally inclined. He accordingly delivered up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, to be conducted to Marius, who, by that successful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of Numidia now assumed a new form: Bocchus, for his important services, had the country of the Massæyli, contiguous to Mauritania, assigned him, which, from this period, took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia Propria, or the county of the Massyli, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to Hiempsal, another to Mandrestal, both descendants of Masinissa, and the third the Romans annexed to Africa Propria, or the Roman province, adjacent to it (M).

Jugurtha's

(M) According to Plutarch, Marius's triumph happened on the first day of January, on which the year began amongst the Romans, when Jugurtha was exposed to the view of the people. The populace were extremely delighted with that

fight, the Numidian, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himself terrible to the Romans. It is even intimated by Florus, that he was looked upon by them as a second Hannibal. Plutarch adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he became

Jugurtha's two sons survived him, but passed their lives in captivity at Venusia. However, one of them, named Oxyntas, was, for a short time, released from his confinement by Aponius, who besieged Acerræ in the war between the Romans and the Italian allies. That general conducted this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw off the Numidian forces from the Roman service. Accordingly those Numidians no sooner heard, that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; a desertion which obliged Julius Cæsar, the consul, to dismiss all his Numidian cavalry, and send them back into Africa. A few years after this event, Pompey defeated Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Hiarbas, one of the kings of Numidia, putting to death seventeen thousand of their men upon the field of battle. Not satisfied with this victory, this general pursued the fugitives to their camp, which he soon forced, put Domitius to the sword, and took Hiarbas prisoner. He then reduced that part of Numidia which belonged to Hiarbas, who seems to have succeeded Mandrestal, and gave it to Hiempfal, a neighbouring Numidian prince, descended from Masinissa, who had always opposed the Marian faction.

*Transac-
tions in
Numidia
after the
death of
Jugurtha.*

Suetonius informs us, that a dispute arose between Hiempfal and one Masintha, a noble Numidian, whom, it is probable he had, in some respect, injured, when Julius Cæsar first began his brilliant career. The same author adds, that Cæsar warmly espoused the cause of Masintha, and even grossly insulted Juba, Hiempfal's son, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct upon this occasion: he took him by the beard, the most unpardonable affront that could be offered an African. In short, he screened Masintha from the insults and violence of his enemies; hence a reason may be adduced for Juba's adhering so closely afterwards to the Pompeian faction.

*Cæsar
treats Ju-
ba in a
very inde-
cent man-
ner.*

• Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 71.

distracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into prison, whilst some tore off his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly distressed; and that yet agitated with horror, when he was cast naked into the dungeon, he forced a smile, crying out, "O

heavens! how intolerable cold is this bath of yours!" In this place he struggled for some time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithstanding his own inhuman disposition, will remain an eternal monument of Roman cruelty and ingratitude.

In

*Juba de-
feats Cu-
rio, one
of Cæsar's
lieute-
nants.*

In consequence of the indignity Cæsar had offered to Juba, this prince exerted himself to the prejudice of Cæsar, in the civil wars between him and Pompey. By a stratagem he drew Curio, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which he should at that time have carefully avoided. He propagated all over Africa Propria and Numidia, that he was retired into some remote country at a great distance from the Roman territories: this report reaching Curio, who was then besieging Utica, hindered him from taking the necessary steps against a surprize. Soon after, the Roman general receiving intelligence, that a small body of Numidians was approaching his camp, he put himself at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, lest they should escape, began his march in the night, thinking he was sure of victory. Some of their advanced posts he surprised asleep, and cut them to pieces, which still farther animated him. About day break he came up with the Numidians, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then fasting, and much fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time Juba, who, immediately after the propagation of the rumour just mentioned, had cautiously marched privately, with the main body of the Numidian army, to support the detachment sent before to decoy Curio, advanced to the relief of his men. The Romans had met with great resistance before he appeared; so that he easily broke them, killed Curio, with a great part of his troops, upon the spot, pursued the rest to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them prisoners. Most of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their escape on board the ships in the port of Utica, were either slain by the pursuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of Varus, who would have saved them; but Juba, who arrogated to himself the honour of this victory, ordered most of them to be put to the sword^t.

*Cæsar o-
verthrows
Scipio,
Juba, and
Labienus.*

This victory infused new life and vigour into the Pompeian faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon Juba, and gave him the title of king of all Numidia; but Cæsar and his adherents declared him an enemy to the state of Rome, adjudging to Bocchus and Bogud, two African princes entirely in their interest, the sovereignty of his dominions. Juba afterwards, uniting his forces with those of Scipio, reduced Cæsar to great extremities; for he had landed in Africa with a handful of troops: but he was ex-

^t Cæf. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. cap. 7, 8. Dio, lib. xli. ad Ann. U. C. 705. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 2. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 455. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. ii. cap. 5. ex. 40.

tricated out of his difficulties by Publius Sittius, who had formed a considerable body of forces, consisting of Roman exiles, and Mauritanian troops furnished by Bogud. With these he made an irruption into Gætulia and Numidia, whilst Juba was employed in Africa Propria. Whilst he ravaged these countries in a dreadful manner, Juba immediately returned with the best part of his army, to preserve them from utter destruction. However, Cæsar, knowing his horse were afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack Scipio in the absence of the Numidian, till his own elephants, and a fresh reinforcement of troops, hourly expected, arrived from Italy. With this accession of strength, he judged himself able to give a good account, as well of the Roman forces, with which he was to cope, as the Barbarians. In the mean time Scipio dispatched reiterated expresses to Juba (N) for his speedy assistance; but could not prevail upon him to move out of Numidia, till he had promised him the possession of all the Roman dominions in Africa, if Cæsar could be expelled from thence. This promise immediately put him in motion; and, having sent a large detachment to make head against Sittius, he marched with the rest of his troops to assist Scipio. However, Cæsar at length overthrew Scipio, Juba, and Labienus, near the town of Thapsus, and forced all their camps. As Scipio was the first surpris'd and defeated, Juba fled into Numidia, without waiting for Cæsar's approach; but the body of the Numidians detached against Sittius having been broken and dispersed by that general, none of his subjects there would receive him. Thus abandoned to despair, he sought death in a single combat with Petreius, whom he killed, and then compelled one of his slaves to destroy himself (O) ^u.

^u A. Hirt. de Bell. African. cap. 3, 4, 5, & seq. Appian. ubi sup. lib. iv. p. 620, 621. Dio, lib. xliii. Plut. in Cat. & Cæf.

(N) Juba, according to Dio, pretended to assist Pompey, not out of a motive of resentment, but because he was a defender of the senate and people of Rome. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cause, substitute the pretext (1).

(O) Hirtius intimates, that

Juba killed Petreius in this combat, and was himself afterwards dispatched by his slave. Orosius relates, that Petreius run himself through with his sword, and that Juba hired a person to kill him; but Appian, Eutropius, and Dio assure us, that they slew each other (2).

¹) Dio, lib. xli. ⁽²⁾ Appian. de Bell. Civil. p. 490. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 16. sub fin. Eutrop. lib. vi. cap. 23. Dio, lib. xliiii.

After

Cæsar reduces Numidia to the form of a province.

After this decisive action, and the reduction of Africa Propria, Cæsar made himself master of Numidia, which he reduced to a Roman province, appointing Crispus Sallustius to govern it in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by these means, put it out of their power to shake off the Roman yoke: however, Bocchus and Bogud still preserved a kind of sovereignty in the country of the Massæsyli and Mauritania. The former of those princes, having deserted Cæsar, sent an army into Spain to assist the Pompeians; and the latter, with his forces, was the means of obtaining victory for Cæsar at the ever memorable battle of Munda. Bogud afterwards joining Antony against Octavius, sent a body of forces to assist him in Spain; at which time the Tingitanians revolting from him, Bocchus, with an army composed of Romans in the interest of Octavius, who passed over from Spain into Africa, and his own subjects, possessed himself of Mauritania Tingitana. Bogud fled to Antony; and Octavius, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of Tingi with all the privileges of Roman citizens. He likewise confirmed Bocchus, king of Mauritania Cæsariensis, or the country of the Massæsyli, in the possession of Tingitania, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this particular he imitated the example of his great predecessor Julius Cæsar, who divided some of the fruitful plains of Numidia among the soldiers of P. Sittius, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed Sittius himself sovereign of that district. Sittius, having taken Cirta, killed Sabura, Juba's general, completely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the Pompeian fugitives that escaped from the battle of Thapsus, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After Bocchus's death, Mauritania and the Massæsylian Numidia were, in all respects, considered as Roman provinces. What happened to Bogud after he was driven out of his dominions, as also the younger Juba, his son Ptolemy, and Tacfarinas, who gave the Romans no small trouble in the reign of Tiberius; with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now treating of, our readers will naturally expect to find an account of in the history of the Moors or Mauritanians.

* A. Hirt. ubi sup. & de Bell. Alex. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Auſt. Comment. de Bell. Hisp. Dio, lib. xlii. xliii. xlix. i. Strab. lib. iii. Flor. ubi supra.

C H A P. LXXIV.

*The History of the Mauritians, to the entire
Reduction of their Country by the Romans.*

S E C T. I.

Description of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or, as it is called by Strabo, Maurusia, and the country of the Maurusii, was bounded on the east by the Malva or Mulucha; on the west by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by Gætulia, or Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. This kingdom, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of Claudius, had the name of Mauritania Tingitana given it by that prince, as we are informed by Dio. From Pliny, and some inscriptions in Gruter, it likewise appears, that it was called by the Romans at that time, as well as afterwards, simply Tingitania, from its principal city Tingi, in order to distinguish it from Mauritania Cæsariensis. If we may judge from what has been already observed of Numidia and Africa Propria, the ancients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their errors cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, answering nearly to the Tingitania of the ancients, can be entirely depended upon.

Though Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, then was considerably broader than Mauritania Cæsariensis, the corresponding parts of Mount Atlas, or the confines of Gætulia, lying more to the southward, yet Pliny and Martianus, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth when they affirm the greatest breadth of the Mauritania to be four hundred and sixty-seven, or four hundred and seventy-three miles. Of the length of this region we may make a tolerable estimate, by observing that the Malva or Mullooïah, its eastern limit, about 1 degree 15 minutes W. of London, is rather more than two hundred and forty miles distant from the Atlantic ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of Fez to be two hundred and seventy miles long, and that of Morocco, from cape Non to the mountains which divide it from Segelmessa, above three hundred and seventy; but this computation, with re-

*Limits and
extent of
Mauritania.*

spect

spect to the ancient Tingitania, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of Pliny, which amounts only to a hundred and seventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the southern limits of Tingitania cannot be ascertained, for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but Septa, the present Ceuta, its most advanced city to the northward, is about 35 degrees 58' minutes N. lat. and about 6 degrees W. long. from London. The Al-Magreb Al-Achsa of Abulfeda includes the Maurusia of Strabo, or the country we are now mentioning, and part of Mauritania Cæsariensis, as it extends from the Atlantic ocean which he calls the sea Almohit, to Tlemfan. We must not omit observing, that Ptolemy places the Atlas Major, his southern boundary of this kingdom, at a considerable distance from the southern limits assigned it by Pliny, in the deserts of Gætulia or Libya Interior. But it appears from what has been already advanced, as well as the best relations of modern travellers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to Tingitania *.

*Whence so
called.*

Mauritania and Maurusia are names of this region derived from the Mauri, an ancient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old historians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongst themselves about the origin of this word. Bochart makes Maurus equivalent to Mahur; or, as an elision of gutturals in the Oriental languages is extremely common, Maur, i. e. *one from the West, or a Western person*, since Mauritania was west of Carthage and Phœnice. Procopius tells us, that in his time two pillars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following inscription in the Phœnician language and character upon them: "We are the Canaanites, who fled from Joshua the son of Nun, that notorious robber." Ibnu Rachich, or Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer cited by Leo, together with Evagrius and Nicephorus Callistus, mention the same circumstance. How, in after-ages, that vast tract, extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean, came to be called Barbary, our readers will be informed in another place †.

The Mauritians, according to Ptolemy, were divided into several cantons or tribes. The Metagonitæ were seated

* Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi supra. Martian. de Duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubient. in clim. 3. Marmol, en l'Afrique, lib. vi. I. Leo Afric. pass. L'Afrique en plusieurs Cartes Nouvelles, &c. par le Sieur Sanson D'Abbeville, à Paris, 1683. Shaw's Geograph. Observations relating to the Kingdom of Alg. p. 9. † Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 257. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 18. Niceph. Callist. lib. xvii. cap. 12. Theophan. in Hist. Miscel. Ibnu Raquiq. apud I. Leo African. part v. Aldret. lib. iii. cap. 13.

near the streights of Hercules. The Succosii, or Cocosii, according to Bertius, inhabited the coast of the Iberian Sea. Under these two petty nations the Masices, Verues, and Verbicæ or Vervicæ, settled themselves. The Salisæ or Salinsæ were situated lower towards the ocean; and still more to the south the Volubiliani. The Maurensii and Herpiditani possessed the eastern part of this country, which was terminated by the Mulucha. The Angaucani or Iangaucani, Necliberes, Zagrensi, Baniubæ, and Vacuata, extended themselves from the southern foot of Ptolemy's Atlas Minor to his Atlas Major; which is all that he has said of them. Pliny mentions the Baniuræ, whom father Hardouin takes to be Ptolemy's Baniubæ; and Mela the Atlantes, whom he represents as possessed of the western part of this region. The names of the different tribes of Numidians we have deferred till we come to the history of the Gætulians, since the latter nation was so intermixed with the former towards the Roman times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them some tribes belong ².

Tingis or Tingi, the metropolis, as it should seem, of Tingitania, was a city of great antiquity. According to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, contemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the first foundations of it. Procopius seems to intimate, that Tingi was built before the time of Joshua, since he tells us, that the Gergesites, Jebusites, and other Canaanitish nations or tribes, erected a castle in a city where Tingis, or, as he calls it, Tigifis, stood. Pliny insinuates, that Antæus had a palace at Lixos or Lixos, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at Tingis. Bochart thinks, that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians called it Tingir, Tiggir, and Tagger, which in their language signified an emporium. Now it must be owned, that the situation of Tingis was extremely commodious for carrying on an extensive trade; which we may, from this circumstance, reasonably presume the Tingitanians did, especially as Pliny seems to insinuate, that to some branches of commerce they assiduously applied themselves. Bochart's notion, therefore, receives some weight from these considerations, as also from the modern name of this city, Tangier, which we are much inclined to believe is of Phœnician extraction. If we suppose the ancient Tingis to have occupied the spot on which Tangier at present stands, it was very near the streights of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulph on the western shore. Ptolemy seems to have looked

² Mel. lib. i. cap. 4. Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup. Hardouin. in Plin. ubi sup. Sallust. in Jugurth. & Aldret. lib. iii. cap. 31.

upon Tingis as the most customary and applicable name of the city we are now treating of. Tangier, admitted to be the ancient Tingis, is in 6 degrees 30 minutes W. long.* from London, and in N. lat. 35 degrees 56 minutes^a.

Zelis.

Zelis or Zilis, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Tingis, is situated near a river of the same name. The inhabitants were transported to Spain, as we learn from Strabo, and a colony of Romans or Italians transplanted thither in their room, as appears from Pliny. The kings of Mauritania, after the planting of that colony, exercised no jurisdiction over Zelis, it being under the dominion of the Roman governor of Spain. Some authors imagine, that the modern Arzilla answers to Zelis; which supposition if we allow, places it about seventy miles from the straits of Hercules^b.

Lixus.

Lixus or Lixos seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, as, according to Pliny, Antæus had a palace, and therefore probably resided there. This circumstance renders it probable, that Lixus was superior to Tingis itself in point of antiquity: but some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find by comparing the names given the former by Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, with Pliny. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Eratosthenes to that of the others in this respect, since it is supported by Pliny. Lixus, therefore, and Tingis, in consequence of this preference, we must consider as two different cities. Pliny relates, that Hercules vanquished Antæus near this place, which he places in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the Hesperides, thirty-two miles distant from Zelis. The same author intimates, that a Roman colony was settled here likewise by Claudius. As Lixus was called by different writers Linx, Linga, Tinga, Tingi, in all probability it was mistaken by some ancient historians or geographers for Tingis. Some learned men will have the present Larache to be the ancient Lixus; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great credit to such a supposition^c.

Thymiaterion.

At some distance from Lixus, to the southward, Hanno, in his Periplus, says he built a city, which he called Thymiaterion. In Scylax the name is Thymiaterias; and in

* Pomp. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 5. Plin. ubi supra. Solin. cap. 24. Strab. lib. iii. & alib.

^b Riol. Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 1. Antonin. in Itiner. Aldret. ubi sup. lib. iv. cap. 8. Vide & Cellar. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 933. edit. Lips. 1732.

^c Hanno Carthag. in Periopl. Plin. ubi supra. Artemidor. & Eratost. apud. Strabon. lib. xvii. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. & alib. Ptol. ubi supra. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 7.

Stephanus, Thymiateria. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, to the south of Lixus, the spot on which it stood cannot now be precisely determined.

Pliny mentions Sala, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the Atlantic ocean, at a considerable distance from Lixus. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was a desert, infested with numerous herds of elephants, and the excursions of the Autololes, a tribe of Gætulians. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern Sallee, a city famous for its corsairs, who frequently commit great depredations in the Mediterranean ^d.

Sala.

The port of Rutubis, where probably a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of Lixus. At some distance from this were the Mons Solis, the port of Mysocaras, the promontories of Hercules and Usadium, and the frontiers of the Autololes. These frontiers terminated Mauritania towards the south; and Ptolemy has undoubtedly carried them much farther in that direction than is consistent with truth. As for Tamusiga, Suriga, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, it is necessary only to have noticed them. Thus much for the principal maritime towns of Tingitania, bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean.

Rutubis.

The first maritime town to the eastward of Tingis seems to be the Exilissa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septensis of Procopius. That author, together with Isidorus Hispalensis and others, insinuates, that this name was derived from the seven hills, called the Septem Fratres by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exilissa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths ^e.

Exilissa.

Rufadir, a city and haven, taken notice of by Pliny, not far from the country of the Massæyli. Ptolemy calls it Ryssadurum; and, from the Itinerary, there seems to have been a Roman colony settled in it. Some authors will have Melila or Melilla, lately in the possession of the Spaniards, to be the Rufadir or Ryssadurum of the ancients. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulph, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side ^f.

Rufadir.

The first inland town deserving notice near the frontiers of the Massæyli, was the Ascurum of Hirtius. According

Ascurum.

^d Mel. & Plin. ubi sup. Ptol. ibid. Vide I. Leo African. Marm. Cellar. Moll. De la Croix, &c. ^e Mel. Ptol. & Marm. ubi sup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Antonin. Itinerar. Marmol, De la Croix, Moll.

to that author this place was of some consequence, since Bogud, king of Mauritania Tingitana, had a strong garrison in it, which falling out upon a body of the Pompeians, repulsed them with great slaughter, driving many of them into the sea, and the rest on board their ships. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining.

*Molochath
and Gala-
pha.*

Molochath or Mulucha, and Galapha, which Ptolemy places in Tingitania, must belong to Numidia, if the Molochath, Mulucha, and Malva, be the same river, as Dr. Shaw has rendered probable; and therefore we shall say nothing more of them here ^g.

Herpis.

Herpis, a town upon the Mauritanian bank of the Mulucha, lying at a considerable distance from the city Molochath, in a northern direction. As to any farther particulars of this place we are entirely unacquainted with them ^h.

*Volubilis
Gilda,
and Prif-
ciana.*

Mela ranks Volubilis, Gilda, and Prisciana, amongst the principal inland towns of Tingitania. Ptolemy says, that Volubilis was one of the most noted places of this country; and the Itinerary makes it a Roman colony. From various authors it appears to be the modern Fez. Gilda is taken notice of likewise by Stephanus, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the center of the country; but the spots of ground occupied by them cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, Marmol asserts, that Mequinez answers to Gilda, which he corruptly calls Silda ⁱ.

Tocolosida.

A little to the south of Volubilis stood the Tocolosida of Ptolemy. According to Marmol, Amergue, a city three leagues from the river Eguile, in the province of Habat, answers to the ancient Tocolosida; but as this author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, entirely rely upon him.

Trifidis.

The Trifidis of Ptolemy, according to that geographer, could not be far distant from the neighbourhood of Tocolosida. Marmol says, that it was built by the Romans upon a rising-ground. The same author intimates, that Aben Gezer, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he asserts to have been taken out of several ancient tombs in his time.

Gontiana.

Gontiana stands south-west of Tocolosida, near the river Sala, and not far from mount Atlas. Marmol informs us, that a small town, by the Moors called Gamaa, upon the road between Fez and Mequinez, is the ancient Gontiana;

^g Shaw's Geogr. Observ. relat. to the Kingd. of Alg. p. 16.
^h Ptol. ubi sup. ⁱ Mel. lib. ii. ex Emend. If. Vossii. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Antonin. Itinerar. Marmol, Harris in Biblioth. Moll.

as likewise, that this place, though strong by nature, has, for some time, been almost entirely depopulated and demolished.

Banafa, Banaffa, or Banafa Valentia, was seated in the neighbourhood of the river Subur, at a very considerable distance, in a northern direction, from Gontiana. Pliny seems to insinuate, that Banafa was seventy-five miles from Lixus, thirty-five from Volubilis, and as many from the Atlantic ocean. That author, in the same place, says, that Babba, which Ptolemy calls Babba Julia Campestris, was an inland town, forty miles from Lixus; and that Augustus planted a Roman colony there. This likewise the curious may find confirmed by the legends on some antique coins exhibited by Goltzius.

Chalce or Chalca, a city of Mauritania Tingitana, mentioned by Scylax Hecataeus; but in what part of that region we are to search for it, cannot now be determined.

Calamintha, a town of Libya, probably of Mauritania, taken notice of by Herodotus and Hecataeus, whose situation is unknown. However, Bochart has ventured to assert, that it stood on an eminence. This notion has been suggested to him by the word itself; for he looks upon Calamintha to be equivalent to the Syriac or Phœnician *galmintha*, an *eminence*, or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewise infers, that it must have been of a Phœnician original^k.

As for Vobrix, Thicath, Ceuta, and many more inconsiderable towns mentioned by the ancient geographers, which are scarce ever taken notice of in history, and, all traces of which are, in a manner, lost, we have thought proper to pass over in silence. Nor are we apprehensive, that, for this omission, it will be deemed necessary to make any apology.

The first river of Tingitania, if it does not appertain to Numidia, is the Malva, Malvana, Chylemath, Molochath or Mulucha; for it went by all these names. It limited the two Mauritaniae, and that part of Numidia joining to them. As it does not appear from history, that the limits of those two kingdoms were ever changed, we may fairly infer, that the above mentioned variety of names points out one and the same river, the Mullooiah of the present western Moors. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the Thaluda, Taluda, or Tamuda of Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, which emptied itself into the Mediterranean confi-

^k Herodot. & Hecat. apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Bochart. ubi supra.

derably nearer the Streights than the former. Pliny represents this as navigable, and consequently as a considerable river. 3. The Lixus, on the banks of which stood the city so called. With regard to its course, or indeed any particulars whatever relating to it, we are entirely ignorant. 4. The Subur, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the Lixus. It passed by the city of Banasa. 5. The Sala, which took its course, according to Pliny, near the confines of the Sahara. 6. The Duus, Cusa, Afama, Phthuth, and other rivers either in, or upon the borders of Libya Interior, recited by Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are entirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to those geographers themselves¹.

Promontories.

The chief capes or promontories of Tingitania were the following: 1. The Metagonitis of Ptolemy, and the Metagonium of Strabo. This promontory, Marmol tells us, in his time was called cape Cafasa, having a town of the same name built upon it. Strabo intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name amongst the Mauritians. This was different from the Terra Metagonitis of Pliny, and the Metagonium of Mela, near the mouth of the Ampsaga. 2. The Sestiarium Promontorium of Ptolemy, or the Ruffadi of the Itinerary. 3. The Promontorium Oleastrum, so called, according to some, from the prodigious number of wild olives growing upon it. 4. The Phœbi Promontorium. 5. The cape Cotes, Cottés, or Ampelusia, not far from Tingis, taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo. It is called by the moderns cape Spartel. From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cotes and Ampelusia were words of the same signification in the Phœnician and Greek languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. Mons Solis, Promontorium Herculis, and Usadium, of which Ptolemy has handed down to us nothing but the mere names².

Mountains.

Amongst the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana we are to rank, 1. Abyla, Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna (for such a variety of names it had), a mountain on the African side of the Streights of Hercules, called, by the ancients, one of Hercules's Pillars. Abinna and Abenna seem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœnicians. They were all

¹ Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. & alib. Antonin. Itinerar. Scylax. Caryand. in Peripl. ex Emend. Claud. Salmasii. ² Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Lucas Holstenius ad Ortel. p. 221. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 24.

derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart. It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Festus Avienus, and others. It is now called, by our countrymen, Apes Hill; an appellation which very well agree with what has been related of it by the ancients, or, at least, the country adjacent to it. 2. The Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy; almost contiguous to Abyla. 3. Mount Cotta, not far from the Lixus. 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, which, according to Orosius, separated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the style of the natives, the Tell from the Sahara. The ancients likewise inform us, that these mountains were known by the names Dyris, Adyris, Dyrim, and Adderim, i. e. *great, high, lofty, or the southern limit*, as mount Atlas is generally esteemed to be with respect to Tingitania and Numidia. However, Dr. Shaw assures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his observation, in height could not stand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines. He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees, rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and that if to this prospect we intersperse a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled Dashkrah, or village of the Kabyles, we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains.

The chief ports of this country were, 1. The Rusadir of *Portus* Pliny, or Ryssadirum of Ptolemy, already mentioned. The Itinerary makes the town here a Roman colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape Rusadi. 2. That at the bottom of the Sinus Emporicus, where there seems to have been a town furnished with inns, warehouses, and all manner of accommodations for the Phœnician merchants, who frequented this place from almost the earliest ages to the time of Augustus. 3. Cotes, Cottès, or Cotta, a port or bay mentioned by Scylax, which may probably have been in the neighbourhood of cape Cotta; and, in this case, that author has not given it a right situation, since he places it between cape Mercury and the streights of Hercules. 4. Rusibis, or Rutubis, an harbour taken notice of by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the south-western part of Mauritania, between the rivers Cusa and Diur. 5. Myfocaras, a port a few miles to the south of Rusibis, not far from the river Phthuth. This was

The History of the Mauritians.

of Statius Sebostus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo. Ptolemy gives these islands too southern a situation, affirming them to lie
on

and Hierro lie most to the westward. Their soil is rich; they have good pasture-ground, produce excellent wine, sugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the same name. The first is seven leagues long, six broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, seven broad, and twenty-six in compass. Hierro had a commodious harbour; and Palma a volcano that emits vast quantities of sulphurous matter, as we learn from Juan Nunez de Pena. On the western point of Hierro most modern geographers place the first meridian. Gomera, situated to the south of Palma, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, sugar, and wine, with pastures for numerous herds of cattle. It is twenty-two leagues in circumference, and has a considerable town of the same name, besides a very capacious harbour. Teneriffe, to the east of Hierro, is said to be sixty miles long. Here is a famous mountain, called the Pico of Teneriffe, frequently covered with snow; which renders it probable, that this island was Pliny's Nivaria, and Ptolemy's Ninguaria. The Pico is an ascent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when these islands were discovered by M. Jean de Betancourt, a French gentleman, for Don Juan king of Castile, in 1405, the inhabitants of Teneriffe were governed by several kings, who lived in caves; and that they

kept the bodies of their ancestors dried like mummies. The towns are, St. Christopher de la Laguna, Santa Cruz, Rotava, or Oratava, Rialejo, and Garachico. Canaria, or Gran Canaria, had the same name amongst the ancients, as we learn from Pliny. Hence a probability arises that it was not given by the Spaniards, as some writers suggest; as likewise, that some knowledge of it has been retained from the time of the Romans, since the name assigned it by them has been preserved to the present times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty-eight in compass, and about thirty from cape Bosador. Its situation is east of Teneriffe, and its capital city Palma, Palmes, or Canaria. In fertility it equals, at least, if it does not exceed, any of the others. Fuerteventura is east of Gran Canaria, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of Africa. It is likewise fruitful, and has four towns, Tarafala, Lanagala, Pozo Negro, and Fuerteventura. Lanzarote, north of the former, and in all points answering to the rest, has three towns, Cayas or Lanzarote, Puerto de Naos, and Puerto de Cavallos. Though these seven are the principal islands that go under the name of the Canaries, yet there are several others in their neighbourhood of less note; as the Isla de los Lobos, situated between Fuerteventura and Lanzarote; the Salvaticæ lying farther towards the north-west; besides Bocca, Gratiola, Santa Clara,

on the coast of Libya Interior; but they are in the same parallel with the southern part of Mauritania, according to Strabo; which seems to agree with the best modern descriptions and observations. The ancients did not agree in fixing the number of these islands. Marcellus made them ten; seven of which he affirms to have been sacred to Proserpina, and the other three to Pluto, Ammon, and Neptune. Pliny and Ptolemy, from Juba, relate, that there were six of them; while Sebosus and Plutarch mention only two. One of them Pliny and Ptolemy call Ombrios, Ombrios, and Pluvialia; the former author names two others Junonia; the latter, Junonia and the Inaccessible Island. The other three Pliny and Ptolemy, according to Isaac Vossius, called Capraria, Canaria, and Nivaria or Nivaria. Ombrios was uninhabited, and destitute of water at all times, but when it rained; from which circumstance it derived its name. This island produced a sort of canes, some of which were black, and others white; from the former the Mauritaniæ expressed a liquor of a bitter taste, and out of the latter made a pleasant kind of drink. In one of the Junonias there was a small temple, built of stone. Capraria abounded with monstrous lizards; Nivaria was always covered with snow; and Canaria over-run with dogs of an enormous size, two of which were presented to king Juba. From hence they derived their names. They all abounded with apples, and other sorts of fruit, as well as honey, and various kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the siluri, a species of shad-fish. In fine, the ancients so highly esteemed them, on account of their happy climate, salubrious air, and fertile soil, that they styled them the Fortunate Islands, and here fixed their Elysian fields.

The curiosities most worthy of observation were, 1. The vines, grapes, and reeds, towards the confines of Libya Interior, of a most prodigious and incredible size, mentioned by Strabo. 2. The trees growing in the island Ombrios, or Pluvialia, and the liquor extracted from them; which some learned men have imagined to be the sugar-canes and mo-

Curiosities.

Clara, and Alagranza, on the north of Lanzarote. They are all subject to the king of Spain; and Canaria is the see of a bishop, subject to the metropolitan of Seville. Canaria formerly produced a sort of dates, and pine-apples, in great abundance, according to Pliny. In the rivers also of these islands grew the plant papyrus, as in the Nile, if the same author may be credited (3).

(3) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 32. Hakluyt, Herbert, Mol. Atl. Geogr. &c.

of the moderns. The river, in the southern part of Mauritania, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the same manner as the Nile did Egypt; now appears there was such a river in this district, according to the best modern observations compared with Strabo. 4. The several remarkable Roman antiquities still remaining. 5. The narrow river many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a sort of cave, from whence are passages into subterraneous apartments, designed undoubtedly by the ancients as repositories for their dead, as in them were found many urns and statues with Punic inscriptions. We shall reserve all other curious particulars for the history of the Sharifs in Fez and Morocco.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Mauritanians.

THAT the descendants of Phut first peopled Mauritania, as well as the tract between the Triton and the Mulucha, has been already observed from various authors. That the Phœnicians likewise planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the testimonies already produced. To which we may add, that, from Hirtius, Appian, and Dio, as explained by Aldrete, it may be inferred, that the Arabs are to be ranked amongst the most ancient inhabitants of this country.

It is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in Mauritania from the earliest ages, as well as in Egypt and Numidia. Bocchar, Bocchus, and Bogud, from what we find related by the Roman historians, seem to have governed with an uncontrollable authority. However, we must observe from Appian, that several tribes of Moors, whom he calls *corrobari*, were governed by their own laws, or, at least, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in opposition to that form of government which was established in the greatest part of this country. The independent Arabs, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, who are feared in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, and sometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, may probably be the posterity of these free-born Moors. Be that as it may, most of the provinces of Mauritania, if not the whole region, were subject to one prince in the reign of the elder

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Occidens



HISPANIAE

SINVS

GADITANVS

OCEANVS

ATLAN-

TICVS

Fortunatae Inf.

Saguntina Insula

Sala

Aqua fl.

Sala fl.

ATLAS MAIOR

Vacuatae

Mon

Gades

Fretum Herculeum

Tingitana

Saguntina Insula

Sala

Sala fl.

Aqua fl.

Sala fl.

Vacuatae

Trois

Bananum humerum

Saguntina Insula

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Sala fl.

Aqua fl.

Sala fl.

Vacuatae

Dionysius. Justin says, that Hanno, a Carthaginian nobleman, in order to attain the sovereignty of Carthage, to which he then aspired, had recourse to the king of the Mauri for assistance. Appian insinuates, that not only in Numidia, whilst regal government prevailed, but likewise in other neighbouring parts of Africa, and therefore probably Mauritania, several reguli, or heads of the Kabyles, as they now are termed, were engaged in bloody wars with one another; an assertion which evidently implies, that they must have exercised a sovereign power. Notwithstanding which, the great figure the Mauri or Maurusii made in Africa (that name extending even to the borders of Africa Propria, before the Romans grew formidable in that country, as appears from Justin), is a sufficient indication that most of them were united under one common head.

That some of the Mauritians had laws, or at least certain political maxims and institutions, which served as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from Appian; but none of these have been preserved. Nay, the Mauritanian monarchs themselves, however absolute, might have had some immutable laws to steer their political course by, as we find the Medes and Persians had. Appian's *αὐτόνομοι*, just mentioned, favour such a suggestion, or, at least, that laws were not entirely unknown in Mauritania. Laws.

Neptune was one of the principal objects of adoration in this country; which is a sufficient proof, that the Naphthuhim, or Nephthuhim, of Moses, extended themselves into it; though the first seat of that people might probably, as Bochart and Arius Montanus imagine, have been in Marmarica and Cyrenaica. This deity and his wife Neptys received their names from hence, Neptune, Neptys, and Naphthuhim, signifying *the king, queen, and people, of the sea-coasts*. It is certain, that the Egyptians called the exterior parts of the earth promontories, and whatever bordered upon the sea, and was washed by it, Neptys. They paid religious honours to the Sun and Moon likewise, in common with the other Libyan nations. That they offered human sacrifices to their gods, in imitation, perhaps, of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, or some other ancient nation, from whom their ancestors came, is asserted by Seneca. From what Nonnus and others have advanced, it is probable, that Bacchus was worshipped by the Mauritians, es- Religion.

* Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Strab. lib. xviij. Appian. in Libyc. lxxv. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 5. & cap. 7. Aldret. ubi sup. & lib. ix. cap. 20. Dr. Shaw in Pref. p. 8, & alib.

mapalia without their darts. Such perpetual exercise must have rendered them exceedingly skilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The Mauritanians sacrificed human victims to their deities, as did the Phœnicians and Carthaginians*.

Arts.

With regard to the arts and sciences of the Mauritanians, we have not much to say. The country people were extremely rude and barbarous: those inhabiting cities must undoubtedly have had, at least, some smattering in the literature of the several nations from which they deduced their origin. That the Mauritanians had some knowledge in naval affairs seems probable, not only from the intercourse they had with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, as well as the situation of their country, but likewise from Orpheus, or Onomacritus, who asserts them to have made a settlement at the entrance into Colchis, to which place they came by sea. Magic, sorcery, and divination they appear to have applied themselves to, in very early times. Cicero and Pliny say, that Atlas was the inventor of astrology, and the doctrine of the sphere, that is, he first introduced them into Mauritania. This circumstance, according to Diodorus Siculus, gave rise to the fable of Atlas's bearing the heavens upon his shoulders. The same author relates, that Atlas instructed Hercules in the doctrine of the sphere and astrology, or rather astronomy, who afterwards brought those sciences into Greece. Some say that Neptune, and others that Atlas, first fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ships with sails: be that as it may, it is generally acknowledged that both Neptune, and Atlas his son, reigned in this country; for which reason it cannot be denied, that astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, and navigation, were known to some of the Mauritanians in early ages: that some of them were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great and illustrious figure the younger Juba made in the learned world†.

Power.

Although Mela represents Tingitania as a poor despicable country, scarce deserving notice, yet Strabo assures us, it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The ancients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the Hesperides here, seem to concur with him in that opinion. The Carthaginians had generally some bodies of Mauritanians in their service; a proof that they were highly esteemed by that famous republic. The name of Mauri, or Maurusii,

* Strab. lib. xvii. Herod. in Melpom. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vi. Sallust. in Jugurth. Horat. lib. i. od. 22. Ælian. lib. xiv. cap. 5. Shaw, ubi supra, p. 289, 290. † Orpheus, vel Onomacritus, in Argon. ver. 741. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 8. & lib. viii. cap. 56. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Aldret. lib. iv. cap. 14. & alibi.

extended itself from the Atlantic ocean to the borders of Africa Propria, or at least to the Amplaga, as may be inferred from several authors; for it survived those of the Massyli and Masæsyli, which must have been occasioned by the superior eminence of the Mauritanian nation".

S E C T. III.

The History of the Mauritanians, to the entire Reduction of their Country by the Romans.

THE accounts transmitted by the ancients of the most early transactions in Mauritania are so enveloped in fable, that it is impossible to form any tolerable idea of them; though these accounts are so prolix, that they would fill a considerable volume. It will therefore be sufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a concise relation of the principal of them, stripped as much as possible of fable, and rendered as consistent with itself as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philosophers, and historians, will permit it to be.

Accounts of the earliest transactions in Mauritania little to be depended on.

The two earliest princes of this country, except Neptune, mentioned by antiquity, were Atlas and Antæus. From several circumstances, with which we are supplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that these were the same person; they were both of them the sons of Neptune, who reigned over Mauritania, Numidia, and a great part of Libya; as may be naturally inferred from his having such particular marks of distinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of those regions. They both ruled with absolute power over a great part of Africa, particularly Tingitania. Hercules defeated and slew Antæus in the same war wherein he took the Libyan world from Atlas: both Atlas and Antæus invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars with the gods, and were both vanquished by him. Antæus, as well as Atlas, was famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences: from whence we may fairly conclude them to have been the same king of Mauritania.

Neptune and Antæus two of the first kings of Mauritania.

Antæus, in his wars with Hercules, who commanded an army of Egyptians and Ethiopians, behaved with great bravery and resolution. Receiving several large reinforcements of Libyan troops, he cut off vast numbers of Hercules's men: but that celebrated commander having at last inter-

Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived, probable.

* Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 5. Strab. lib. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Appian. de Bell. Civil. & in Hispan.

cepted a strong body of Mauritanian or Libyan forces, sent to the relief of Antæus, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he and the best part of his forces were put to the sword. This decisive action put Hercules in possession of Libya and Mauritania, and consequently of all the riches in those kingdoms: hence arose the fable, that Hercules finding Antæus, a giant of an enormous size, with whom he was engaged in single combat, to receive fresh strength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at last lifted him up in the air, and squeezed him to death. Hence likewise may be deduced the fable, intimating, that Hercules took Atlas's globe upon his own shoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the Hesperides, and made himself master of all the golden fruit. The golden apples, so frequently mentioned by the old mythologists, were the treasures that fell into Hercules's hands upon Antæus's defeat, the Greeks giving the Oriental word *ἥνδ*, riches, the signification affixed to their own term *μήλα*, apples. After the most diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheses of historians and chronologers, relating to Atlas and Antæus, we find none so little clogged with difficulties as that of sir Isaac Newton. According to that illustrious author, Ammon, the father of Sefac, was the first king of Libya, or that vast tract extending from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean; the conquest of which country was effected by Sefac in his father's life-time. Neptune afterwards excited the Libyans to a rebellion against Sefac, slew him, and then invaded Egypt under the command of Atlas or Antæus, the son of Neptune, Sefac's brother and admiral. Not long after Hercules, the general of Thebais and Ethiopia for the gods or great men of Egypt, reduced a second time the whole continent of Libya, having overthrown and slain Antæus near a town in Thebais, from that event called Antæa or Antæopolis: this, we say, is the notion advanced by Sir Isaac Newton, who endeavours to prove, that the first reduction of Libya, by Sefac, happened a little above a thousand years before the birth of Christ, as the last, by Hercules, did some few years after.

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman times.

We find nothing worth relating recorded of the Mauritanians from the defeat of Antæus to the Roman times. Livy only says, that Syphax's kingdom bordered upon the Mauri; which is nothing more than an implication, that such a nation did then exist. Justin, indeed, from Trogus, intimates, that in some of the earliest ages of Carthage, the Mauri were neighbours to the Carthaginians, and had some disputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of consequence

sequence concerning that people. Diodorus Siculus likewise asserts, that in the interval between the defeat the Carthaginians received from Gelon, and the first Punic war, they had sometimes Mauritanian mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to this nation. We are informed by Sallust, that nothing of the Mauri, besides their name, was known to the Romans so late as the Jugurthine war; and the most ancient Greck writers scarce ever considered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the Libyans.

Plutarch insinuates, that the elder Juba pretended to be lineally descended from Hercules; but that biographer does not give much credit to such a pretension. However, it is natural to suppose, that the person who obtained this country, upon the dissolution of the Egyptian empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Possibly Bocchar and Bocchus, son-in-law to Jugurtha, were of this family; since the affinity of names, and the country they governed, sufficiently intimate that they were of the same family, and of the blood royal of Mauritania. Be that as it may, Bocchus, from the account Sallust gives us of him, appears to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats, the Romans, partly by promises and partly by threats, induced him to deliver his father-in-law Jugurtha into their hands, after the most solemn engagements to support him, and even a promise made to put Sylla into his power. Jugurtha indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty of the most enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of Bocchus. What is here hinted at may be found related in some former parts of this work *.

History is silent as to any farther particulars of the Mauritanian affairs; till the time of Bogud, who was contemporary with Julius Cæsar, and his adopted son Octavius. Bogud, in conjunction with Publius Sittius, contributed considerably to Cæsar's great success in Africa. In Spain, likewise, he assisted Cæsar when he gained the memorable victory at Munda, which gave the finishing stroke to the Roman republic. After that emperor's death he joined Antony against Octavius; and endeavoured to make a diversion in favour of the former, in Spain: but whilst he was employed in this expedition, the Tingitanians revolted, and, being supported by a body of Spaniards in the interest of Octavius, and some of Bocchus's troops, defeated him upon his return into Africa; an action which put Boc-

What happened to Bogud.

* Plut. in Sertor. Liv. & Sallust. ubi supra

thus in possession of Tingitania. Octavius, or Augustus, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. Bogud was at last killed by Agrippa at Methona; and after Bocchus's death Tingitania was reduced to the form of a Roman province *.

*Augustus
gives the
younger
Juba the
Maurita-
nia, and
part of Cæ-
nulia.*

Augustus gave the younger Juba the two Mauritaniæ, together with part of Cænulia, some time after his marriage with the younger Cleopatra, instead of his father's kingdom, i. e. Numidia, which still remained a Roman province. It is true, Strabo, as has been observed by Mr. Bayle, asserts, that Augustus restored Juba to his father's kingdom, and likewise granted him the Mauritaniæ; but this geographer limits the Roman province, and the kingdom of Juba, in such a manner, as shews, that Numidia belonged to the Romans (Q). Suidas relates, that the younger Juba was

* Strabo, lib. xvii. Dio, lib. xli. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. Appian. de Bell. Civil. Cæsar. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Plut. in Pomp. & in Cæsar.

(Q) Juba had a liberal education bestowed upon him at Rome, where he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned Grecians. He did not leave that city, till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he so gained the hearts of all his subjects, who ever retained the most grateful sense of the felicity they enjoyed, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to Pausanias, erected a statue in his honour. He was extremely well versed in the Assyrian, Arabic, Greek, Punic, African, and Latin histories, as well as those of other nations. He wrote the history of Arabia; the antiquities of the Assyrians and Romans; the history of theatres, of painting, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatise upon the herb euphorbia,

which he called from his physician, who first discovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its singular virtues; and a piece concerning the source of the Nile. Many other works are also ascribed to him by Suidas, Ammianus, Marcellinus, Pliny, Athenæus, &c. a few fragments only of which are now extant. Pliny intimates, that his learning rendered him more illustrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as a writer of great authority. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Juba, from some Punic authors, affirmed the Nile to have had its source in a high mountain of Mauritania. The abbé Sevin has favoured the world with a short dissertation on the life and writings of the younger Juba, wherein he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of Rome 776, or 777, may be inferred from Strabo and Tacitus (1).

(1) Vide M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'abbé de Sevin, en tom. iv. des Mem. de l'Acad. de Belles Lettres.

publicly scourged when led in triumph : but this seems extremely improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. Ptolemy, his son by Cleopatra, daughter to Antony and Cleopatra, surnamed Selene, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by Caius, either through a principle of avarice or jealousy, appears from Suetonius and Dio, as well as a former part of this history v.

Tacfarinas, a native of Numidia, who had served among the Roman auxiliaries, just before the third consulate of Tiberius, occasioned fresh troubles in Africa. At first he assembled a great number of Barbarians, inured to robbery, and all kinds of rapine, by the allurements of plunder; out of which he formed a considerable army, and disciplined it after the Roman manner. The greater part of the army consisted of Mufulanius, a powerful nation, bordering upon the Sahara, still wild, and without towns, of whom Tacfarinas declared himself general. These were joined by a large body of Mauritians, commanded by their general Mazippa, whom Tacfarinas had found means to engage in the war. The Cinithians, likewise, a nation by no means despicable, he forced to adopt his measures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached Mazippa to make excursions, and harasses the Romans by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. Furius Camillus, the Roman commander, advanced against the Africans with only a single legion, and what troops the allies could spare him, in order to draw them to a general action, since they seemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their interest to protract the war. Though the troops of Camillus were but a handful, in comparison of the Barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, posting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horse, on the right and left. He had no sooner made this disposition, than the Barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed, with great slaughter. Next year, however, Tacfarinas renewed the war, making dreadful incursions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage. He moved from place to place with such celerity, that none of the Roman detachments could intercept him. After he had committed many devastations, he surrounded a Roman cohort, commanded by Decrius, an officer of distinguished merit, in a fort near the banks of the Pagida. The Romans behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were forced to abandon the fort to the

Tacfarinas raises troubles in Africa, but receives several defeats, and is at last killed.

v Strabo, lib. xvii. Dio, lib. liii. ad An. Urb. Cond. 729. Suid. in voc. *Ἰβας*. Tacit. an. iv. Sueton. in Caio, cap. 26, 35. Dio, lib. lix. Plut. in Anton.

enemy, and betake themselves to flight. Lucius Apronius, Camillus's successor, caused this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the ancient custom, to be dispatched with a club. This rigour had such an effect, that Tacfarinas's army was routed, and forced to raise the siege of Thala, by a squadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined Tacfarinas to resolve, for the future, never to attempt a siege, but to carry on the war in a desultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the African observed this method, he eluded all the efforts of the Romans; but, withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the prospect of immense booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by Apronius Cæsius with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The dispute was neither long nor bloody; for the Barbarians were soon overthrown, many of them slain, and the rest obliged to disperse themselves in the Sahara. However, Tacfarinas, though often repulsed, still recruited his forces, and arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, as to send ambassadors to Tiberius, threatening him with eternal war, unless he and his army should be indulged with a comfortable settlement. Tiberius, incensed to the last degree at such unparalleled assurance, ordered Blæsus, who commanded the Roman forces in Africa, to offer a general indemnity to the Africans, and to endeavour, by all means possible, to get Tacfarinas into his hands. Blæsus, in order to terminate this war, made the following disposition of his forces; he detached Scipio, his lieutenant, to a post from whence Tacfarinas committed his depredations upon the citizens of Leptis, and then retreated amongst the Garamantes; he sent his son to protect the territory of the Cirtesi; and he marched himself between both with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. These measures, with some others equally good, had the desired effect; for Tacfarinas's forces were dispersed, his brother taken, and himself obliged to take shelter in the desert. Nevertheless, a great body of Mauritanians, through Ptolemy's indolence, having joined him, as likewise a strong reinforcement from the king of the Garamantes (R), he once more faced the Romans;

(R) Tacitus intimates, that Tacfarinas assembled at this time a powerful army of Africans, by pretending, that the Romans were so embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon Africa; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might soon cut off all

Romans; but Dolabella, having fortified the proper posts, and executed the chiefs of the Musulani, who were meditating a revolt, advanced against the enemy, who, he was informed, had encamped near the castle of Auzea. After a forced march he came up with them, and entirely defeated them, putting Tacfarinas himself to the sword, and a vast number of his followers. A body of Mauritians, king Ptolemy sent to assist Dolabella, chiefly contributed to this victory, which, for some time, settled peace in the Roman provinces, Mauritania and Gætulia *.

Ptolemy having been cut off by Caius, as related above, *Mauritania reduced to a Roman province.* Ademon, one of his freedmen, in order to revenge his death, assembled a body of forces in Mauritania. Caius being soon after assassinated, his successor Claudius, in order to disperse this corps, sent thither a Roman army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before the Romans, the senate persuaded Claudius to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in Mauritania. In the following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as Mount Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia. Sidius Geta, who succeeded Paulinus in the command of the Roman army in Africa, twice vanquished Salabus, the Mauritanian general, and pursued him into Sahara. Having been supplied with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of perishing, Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms. It is probable, that, by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered entirely into the hands of the Romans; since we find it soon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitania, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæsariensis, from Cæsar, a surname Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperors. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preside over these provinces. Soon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians that infested some parts of Numidia, and by that action restored tranquillity to all their African dominions.

* Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. iii. iv.

that remained there. The same Tacfarinas to raise the siege of historian also informs us, that, Thubuscum, which he abandoned at the Roman general's mentioned, Dolabella forced approach (2).

(2) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 24.

C H A P. LXXV.

*The History of the Gætulians.**Limits of
Gætulia.*

AS the limits of Gætulia have not been settled, either by Ptolemy, or any of the other ancient geographers, it is impossible for us to define them. From several authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the same. In Pliny's time the Gætulians possessed a considerable part, at least, of Tingitania; the Maurusii having been so extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not oppose them. Festus Avienus fixed their eastern boundary not far from the western confines of Marmarica. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and situation of their country can be drawn either from those authors or Strabo, who only intimates that the Gætulians were a large nation, taking up a considerable part of Libya Interior, and possessing some territories in the neighbourhood of the Sytes. Pliny maintains, that Gætulia was terminated on the south by the river Nigris, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Nigir, which, according to him, separated it from Ethiopia: but notwithstanding the indefinite terms in which the ancients have laid down this region, by comparing their several accounts and descriptions, we shall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the southern parts of Numidia and the Mauritaniæ; and, by consulting the best observations of the moderns, conclude, that it could not have reached to any great distance in the Sahara. Dr. Shaw, in one place, insinuates, that the proper Gætulia did not extend farther to the east than the meridian of Siga, provided Tackumbrect be the ancient Siga, as he imagines; since he affirms, that the Melanogætuli and Garamantes occupied the tract behind Numidia, Africa Propria, and the Regio Syrtica, from that meridian to Cyrenaica: whereas in another place he fixes some Gætulian tribes in the remotest part of the district of Zaab, and meridian of Constantina, above six degrees more to the eastward than Siga. Whether or no either of these seemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is so, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that Guzula; or Gezula, a province of the kingdom of Morocco, at the foot of Mount Atlas, has preserved some traces of the ancient Gætulia. Could we lay any great stress upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of Gætulia; in which case Dr. Shaw's first

notion would have probability on its side : but as the concurrent testimony of the ancients favours the latter, we know not what to say. However, the ascertaining the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of such importance as to deserve any great regard. We shall therefore leave our geographical readers to choose which of these notions they please, or to reject them both, if they think proper ^a.

As the Gætuliana, before the time of Jugurtha, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living generally in tents without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Philostratus says, the Gætulians inhabited the interior part of Mount Abinna or Abyla, and consequently, by intermixing them with the Maurusii, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns. Pliny also intimates, that the Gætulians in his time possessed great part of Massæsyliæ; and Apuleius assigns them some districts at least of Numidia Propria; but Pliny and Ptolemy render it indisputable, when they mention the cities of Autolala and Talubath, as appertaining to the Gætulians. The principal tribes of Proper Gætulia were the Baniuræ, Darræ, and Autololes. It is probable that the Baniuræ bordered upon Tingitania, as the Darræ did upon the Ethiopians called Perorsi and the Pharusii. The Autololes seem to have been much the most powerful, and to have spread themselves over that part of Tingitania bordering on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. Their capital city, Autolala, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it stood betwixt the Subus and the Salathus, the only two rivers of note except the Gir and the Nigir, that watered Gætulia. Nothing of Talubath has been transmitted down to us by the ancients, but the bare name. As the Sahara rose near the southern foot of Mount Atlas, this country was undoubtedly, for the most part, sandy and desert; however it was interspersed with fruitful spots. Mount Sagapola, the limit of Gætulia on the side of the Melanogætuli, and containing the sources of the Subus and Salathus above mentioned, seems to have been the only remarkable mountain in the region we are now describing. As for promontories, we meet with none meriting any attention; though from Pliny it may be inferred, that the Promontorium Solis, and some ports already mentioned, were in a territory afterwards annexed to the

Towns,
rivers,
mountains,
&c.

^a Plin. lib. v. cap. 2. Philostrat. lib. v. Strabo, lib. xvii. Festus Avien. Ptol. Geograph. lib. iv. Agathem. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 5. Shaw ubi supra, p. 132, & 136. Leo African. part. ii. Marm. lib. iii. cap. 51.

Proper Gætulia. The only curiosity here, deserving a place in history, was the vast quantity of the purple-fish produced in that part of the Atlantic ocean washing the Gætulian shore; with which the rocks on this coast were frequently covered. The Teladusii, Soræ, Dryitæ, Elulii, Mazices, Nacmusii, and other obscure nations, inhabiting either Numidia or the confines of that country and Gætulia, in the time of Ptolemy, deserve so little regard, that our readers will scarce expect an enumeration of their names.

The antiquity of the Gætulians.

According to Josephus and St. Jerom, Chavilah or Havilah, the son of Cush, was the father of the Gætulians; therefore we find them called Evilæi or Havilæi. As it is well known that Havilah or Chavilah, settled in Arabia Felix, and that from him his descendents assumed the name of Chaulotæi and Chaulasii, it cannot be doubted but that Gætulia was first peopled from Arabia Felix. This fact likewise renders probable the authority of the ancients, who assert, that the Gætulians intermixed themselves with the Persians, and that the Pharusii in particular were of Persian extraction. For Persia and Arabia being a manner contiguous regions, many Persians probably joined some of the Arabian colonies passing into Africa, or at least followed Sefac and Hercules in their Libyan expeditions.

Their government, &c.

The first Gætulians, according to the Punic historians, were some of the most ancient inhabitants of Africa, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, lodging wherever the night surprised them. Some of the Pharusii, or Phaurusii, at first, if any credit may be given to Strabo, lived in caves like the Troglodytes: but this state of barbarity, Sallust tells us, continued only till they were civilized by Hercules. It is believed by some good authors, that the Gætulians, however rude and barbarous, at least near the Roman times, were under the direction of certain phylarchs, or heads of Kabyles, as their posterity are at this day. However, if they had any stated laws, we are now entirely ignorant of them. If they had any (S) customs like-

(S) One custom, however, we must not pass over here. Lucan seems to observe, that the Gætulians were mixed with their cattle in their mapalia, as Dr. Shaw relates of the Bedouens in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis at this day. The former author also insinuates, that many of the Gætulians were carried about the country with their Penates, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the ancient Scythians (1).

(1) Lucan, lib. iv. Shaw, ubi sup. p. 288.

wife, different from those of the Numidians and Mauritians, the knowlege of them has not reached us. As all authors are entirely silent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we must suppose it to have been the same with that of their neighbours, or with that of their progenitors the ancient Arabs, which will hereafter be briefly described. Leo relates, that many of the ancient Africans erected magnificent temples in honour of the Sun, wherein they preserved a perpetual fire; though other tribes adored another planet. Probably the Gætulians were some of the former, as being partly descended from the Persians, who professed the Magian religion. Their language must undoubtedly have borne a near resemblance to the ancient Arabic, and the other Oriental tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewise from the Showianan vocabulary published by Dr. Shaw, most, if not all, of whose words are easily deducible from the Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in such a country as Gætulia, and therefore will not suppose that we have any thing to offer on that head^b.

* With regard to the transactions of this nation we have not much to say. Herodotus and Scylax take no notice of the Gætulians; an omission which renders it probable, that when those writers lived they were very obscure. The first authors that mentioned them were probably some of those old historians from whom Livy extracted the materials for his work; since he informs us, that a corps of that people served under Hannibal in the second Punic war. That general, having taken and rased Accerræ, formed a design upon Casilinum, and sent a body of Gætulians, under the command of their general Ifalca, to attack it. Ifalca soon invested the town, when finding in every quarter a profound silence, and not observing a creature to appear, he imagined that the garrison kept themselves still within the town through fear; a circumstance which encouraged him to attempt forcing the gates. But he was repulsed by two Prænestine cohorts; who, sallying out, cut many of the Gætulians to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire, with great precipitation, to the Carthaginian army, which was advancing to support them. Whether or no Masinissa, who so greatly extended his conquests in Africa, ever subdued them, history is silent; but we are assured by Sallust that his grandson Jugurtha taught them to keep their ranks, and

A brief account of the Gætulians till the time of Vespasian.

^b Strab. & Sallust. ubi supra. Newton's Chronol. of the Emp. of Egypt. Aldret. ubi sup. cap. 31. p. 445. I. Leo African. ubi supra. Shaw in Excerpt. p. 52.

instructed them in military discipline. However they served that prince more effectually by plundering the allies of the Romans, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raised and disciplined in Gætulia was easily routed by Marius near Cirta. That part of Gætulia under the dominion of Juba revolted to Julius Cæsar; but when that with Numidia was reduced into a Roman province, we cannot positively affirm; especially since Augustus bestowed a part of Gætulia, probably this, with the Mauritanæ, on the younger Juba, as an equivalent for Numidia, his father's kingdom, which, says Dio, had been before converted into a province. Be that as it may, it was ravaged by Sittius, as has been already observed, when Juba had drawn all his forces out of it in order to join the Pompeians, which might possibly occasion the aforesaid revolt. About the year of Rome 759, the Gætulians rebelled against king Juba, massacring all the Romans-settled in his dominions, and committing most dreadful ravages in all the provinces subject to him. Dio ascribes this defection to the resentment of the Gætulians, who were extremely incensed against the Romans for imposing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under the Roman government. However, Cornelius Cossus gave them so complete a defeat, that they were obliged to submit upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe. This was esteemed at Rome as such a considerable exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to assume the cognomen Gætulicus. Notwithstanding which disaster, this people so recovered themselves, that in the elder Pliny's time they had settlements in Numidia and Tingitania, as may be inferred from that author and Philostratus.



C H A P. LXXVI.

*The History of the Melanogætuli or Nigritæ, and
Garamantes.*

The Melanogætuli, or Nigritæ.

P T O L E M Y places the Melanogætuli, or Black Gætulians, between the mountains Sagapola and Ufargala, in a district south-east of Gætulia Propria, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river Niger. They were a na-

^a Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 18. Sallust. ubi sup. Dio, lib. xliii. sub init. Plin. & Philostrat. ubi sup.

tion undoubtedly different from the Gætulians, and considered in that view by Ptolemy, though Cellarius insinuates they were a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this fact, but likewise shews that their progenitors were different from those of the Gætulians. Of course, therefore, the Daræ ought not, as Cellarius imagines, to be considered as a clan of the Melanogætuli; nor does the situation of Leo's Dara quadrate with such a supposition. Mount Ufargala is called by Leo, Guargala, and by Dr. Shaw, Huergla. The former of those authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, some castles, and a great number of villages, whose inhabitants were very rich, being adjacent to the Agades, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. Ptolemy says, that the Bagrada derives its streams from some fountains on Mount Ufargala; but the latest observations demonstrate this to be a mistake. The modern district of Wad-reag in the province of Constantina, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a north east and south-west direction, corresponds with a part of the country of the Melanogætuli, according to Dr. Shaw. Ma-jyre, the nearest of these villages to Zaab, a territory answering to the south-eastern part of Gætulia, is ten leagues to the south of El-Fythe, the last village of Zaab. Tum-mamah, the next place of consequence, lies six leagues to the westward of Ma-jyre, and twelve to the north-east of Tuggurt, the capital of Wad-reag, and the Tegort of Leo. Tuggurt stands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as those of the other villages of Wad-reag, being supplied with water by wells, dug a hundred, and sometimes two hundred fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourse to, their territory being almost destitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of sand and gravel, till they come to a kind of stone like slate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyss, called by them the sea below ground. This stone is no sooner broken through, than a flux of water ascends so suddenly, and in such abundance, that the person let down to perform the operation has sometimes been overtaken and suffocated, though drawn up with the greatest expedition. The country likewise of the Beni Mez-zab, situated thirty-five leagues to the south of the mountains of the Ammer, supposed to be a part of the Mons Phruræsus of Ptolemy, the large village of En-goufah, thirty leagues to the south-west by west of Tuggurt, and the populous city of Wurglah, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the Niger, our learned traveller supposes to have

been included in Menalogetulia. As Ptolemy places the Melanogætuli next to the Pharufii, in a southern direction, fixing his Nigritian Ethiopians in a tract lying to the north of the Niger; and as Mela, Pliny, and Strabo give the Nigritæ exactly the same situation with regard to the Pharufii and the Niger, but are quite silent as to the Menalogætuli; we cannot help thinking the Melanogætuli and Nigritæ one and the same people. If this supposition be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the Niger, and that they had some remarkable places in those parts; since, according to Ptolemy, many towns stood not far from that river, of which the principal were Pesside, Saluce, Nigira, Thige, Cuphe, Thamondicana, and Vellegia. The most celebrated rivers of this country were the Gir and the Niger. The Gir, or as it is now called in our best maps, Ghir, had its fountains on Mount Phruræsus, or, according to Dr. Shaw, the mountains of the Ammer. It took its course through part of the Sahara, in a south-east direction, some degrees to the southward of the tropic of Cancer. The ingenious traveller just mentioned believes the modern Wed Adge-dee to be the Gir of Ptolemy, Agathemerus, and Claudian: but the principal river of Nigritia, and one of the most famous in the world, is called by Ptolemy the Niger, by the Nigritians Wed, or Huid Nijar, i. e. The Black River, and by the Europeans the Niger. This river, according to the best modern geographers, has its source near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of Gorhan, not far from the confines of Abassia, or Upper Ethiopia. It crosses the whole region of Nigritia in a western direction, and, after being swelled by the accession of several rivers in its course, at last discharges itself into the Atlantic ocean. The negroes likewise call it the river of Senegal, and the Arabs the Nile of the Nigritians; this last nation considering it as a branch of the Nile, or rather the Nile and the Niger as two branches of the same river. According to Pliny and Leo, it overflows the adjacent territories in the same manner as the Nile; which, if true, may be another reason for the Arabic appellation. If any credit is given to Leo and the African historians, Sabtecha, the son of Cush, first peopled the Sahara betwixt the mountains of Atlas and Nigritia, and therefore probably Nigritia itself, or at least part of it. From the same author it appears, that the various Nigritian dialects bear an affinity to the Chaldee, Arabic, and Egyptian tongues; to which we may add, and consequently to the Ethiopic, which does not differ widely from them. The Carthaginians had undoubtedly some knowledge of the Ni-

gritæ, since it appears probable from Frontinus (T), that one part of their armies consisted of Nigritian troops. The Nigritæ used scythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the western Ethiopians, with bows and arrows, as we learn from Strabo. According to the same author the Pharufii, and therefore, probably, the Nigritæ, travelled in caravans through the deserts to Cirta, and kept open a communication with the Maurufii. On these occasions they carried bottles filled with water, tied to their horses bellies, lest they should perish of thirst in the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse. From hence it is undeniably clear, that these Pharufian and Nigritian merchants lived at a great distance from Cirta, and those places of Mauritania to which they resorted; as also that the Negroes or Blacks held an early correspondence with the ancient Mauritians, Numidians, and Carthaginians^d.

The Garamantes were situated to the S. E. of Gætulia, and E. of the Nigritæ. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to ascertain; though, from what the ancients have delivered in general concerning it, we may presume that it extended to the borders of the Proper Ethiopia: that it consisted of many large territories, may likewise be inferred from Herodotus, Virgil, Festus Avienus, and others. However, it was not of any very considerable breadth, according to Strabo. Dr. Shaw believes, that part of the ancient Garamantes spread themselves over that tract comprehending the districts of Gad-demz, Fezzan, and some of the more distant cities and villages of the kingdom of Tripoli. Be that as it may, this region abounded with wild beasts; and its most ancient inhabitants were so savage, that they fled at the sight of a person belonging to any other nation. They were at the same time entirely destitute of

The Garamantes.

^d Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 6. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 8. sect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lips. 1732. Strab. lib. ii. & lib. xvii. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 4. Plin. lib. v. cap. 4. & cap. 8. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. i. cap. 11. ex. 18. I. Leo African. & Marm. pass. Shaw, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

(T) From the passage of Frontinus here referred to, it is evident that the Carthaginians had Melanogætulian or Nigritian troops in their service before the time of Geion, and consequently that they had some knowledge of the Blacks above five hundred years before the birth of Christ. This will enable us to account for a strange phenomenon in antiquity, i. e. several antique coins with a Negro's or Nigritian's head upon them.

arms, and had not the courage to defend themselves, if attacked; from which circumstances it is apparent, that at first they industriously avoided all kinds of correspondence with other nations. However, in process of time they built towns, or rather *daskras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near Mount *Girgiris*, and the source of the *Cinyphus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They likewise, when they became a little more civilized, associated with the *Marmaridæ*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Persians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could scarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Carthaginian* commerce extended to those remote countries by means of caravans, passing to *Carthage* from thence through the sandy deserts of the *Garamantes*. Though several arguments might be offered in support of this opinion, we shall content ourselves with observing, as a strong presumption of its truth, that according to several authors, the *Garamantes*, *Persians*, and *Ethiopians*, supplied the *Carthaginians* with vast numbers of gems, which were extremely valuable. Notwithstanding the cowardice of the most ancient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet in after-ages their posterity seem to have been of a different disposition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Festus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deserts of *Libya* in the same manner as their successors the modern *Bedoweens* do at this day; whilst others inhabited the *daskras* scattered up and down these parched and barren plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and supported themselves by hunting, which sometimes they continued pursuing to the winter-solstice; the wild beasts being refreshed by the copious rains which fell at that time, affording them excellent diversion: and according to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themselves in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horses, made for that purpose. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes* seem, for the most part, to have been peopled at first from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and consequently the inhabitants appear to have been the descendants of *Misraim* and *Cush*, though we doubt not but some colonies of *Arabs* likewise settled here. Some of the most perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining incline us to think, that the features of the ancient *Egyptians* much resembled those of the present *Negroes*; which is a proof that the latter must have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore, spoken in these regions, bore a great affinity at first to the *Egyptian*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*; and may at
this

this time probably be corrupted dialects of these tongues. We have no farther particulars of moment with regard to the religion of the Garamantes, than that they, in common with the Arabs, Indians, and Ethiopians, worshipped Jupiter Ammon, representing him, for the most part, with a ram's head, or at least with ram's horns, and had a celebrated temple sacred to him. Pliny mentions a surprising fountain near Debris, whose waters, from noon to midnight grew extremely warm, but from that time to the sun's next approach to the meridian were so cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongst the Garamantes, the men making use of the women promiscuously as they met with them. In the early times they were governed by heads of tribes, or phylarchs, as the Gætulians, and Arabs, but afterwards monarchy seems to have taken place amongst them, as we learn from Tacitus. Pliny mentions a king of the Garamantes, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that repelled the efforts of all who opposed them. Though Ptolemy asserts they were a large and powerful nation, extending themselves from Mount Usargala to the lake or morass Nuba, yet we scarce meet with any of their affairs recorded in history. Masinissa took refuge amongst them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by Syphax. As the roads to their country from Mauritania were rendered impracticable by robbers, the Romans knew little of them till after the expiration of the republic. Lucius Cornelius Balba entirely subdued them, for which service he had a triumph granted him by Augustus. However, they afterwards found means to shake off the Roman yoke, as we are informed by Florus, that some years after Cossus detached Curinius with a body of troops against them, and the Marmaridæ; and Tacitus observes, that the king of the Garamantes joined Tacfarinas, in the reign of Tiberius, against the Romans. After the last defeat and death of Tacfarinas, they sent ambassadors to Rome, to assuage the resentment of Tiberius; which we suppose was done by an entire submission to him, since it appears probable, that the Roman empire extended on that side almost, if not entirely, to the northern bank of the Niger^e.

As for the Nubæ, Perorsi, Tarualtæ, Mimaci, Astacusi, Aroucæ, Dermones, Matites, Gongalæ, Nabathræ, and many other obscure nations inhabiting that part of Libya

^e Herodot. lib. iv. Mel. lib. i. cap. 8. Tacit. Annal lib. ii. iii. iv. Strab. lib. xviii. Plin lib. xxxviii. cap. 7. & Dalechamp. in loc. Ptol. ubi supra. Leo African. & Marm. ubi supra. Shaw, ubi supra, p. 135.

Interior called by the ancients the Western Ethiopia, and extending from the Niger to the Line, we are entirely ignorant of them, except their names, which are the only vestiges to be met with concerning them in the ancient geographers. However, it will be proper to observe, that the vast tract occupied by them comprehended the Upper or Proper Guinea, together with the kingdoms of Gago, Guber, Bito, Temian, Ouangara, Daunia, Biafara, Mujac, Medra, and some districts of that of Gorhan. Hence it appears, that the ancient Nigritia was but a part of the modern Negroland; and that in early times the Nigritæ, or Negroes, went by the general name of Ethiopians. As we find likewise the promontory Soloës, or Soloentia, situated in the country we are now mentioning, and several places to the south of it, taken notice of by Hanno in his Periplus, we may hence conclude, that the Carthaginians had a knowledge of the Blacks some hundred years before the destruction of their state by the Romans: that the Greeks also were not ignorant of them in the age of Scylax, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and Hanno filled their journals with fables, scarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have given us faint descriptions of the customs and dispositions of some few of their tribes. Pliny and Ptolemy were ill informed with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the western Ethiopians; and Strabo only intimates, that as scarce any intercourse had ever been kept up between them and the Roman empire, the accounts published of them in his age were little better than mere fictions.

C H A P. LXXVII.

The History of the Libyans and Greeks inhabiting the Tract between the Borders of Egypt and the River Triton, comprehending Marmarica, Cyrenaica, and the Regio Syrtica.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Libyans of Marmarica.

*The Liby-
ans of
Marma-
rica.*

MARMARICA, according to Scylax, Pliny, and Agathemerus, with whom Strabo and Ptolemy agree in regard to the most important objects, was bounded on the

The History of the Libyans of Marmarica.

the east and west by Egypt and Cyrenaica; on the south by the Sahara, or deserts of Libya Interior; and on the north by the Mediterranean. After passing the Glaucum Promontorium, cape Deris, the port Leucaspiis, and other inconsiderable promontories and harbours, cursorily noticed by the ancient geographers, we come to Parætonium, called Ammonia by Strabo, a city of considerable note. Florus styles this city and Pelusium the two horns of Egypt; from whence it appears, that he considered Marmarica as part of Egypt, and Parætonium as a fortress of great strength. At some distance from Parætonium, towards the frontiers of Cyrenaica, stood Apis, a town so denominated from the Egyptian deity of that name. Trifurchis, Zagylis, and other places on the sea-coasts, enumerated by Ptolemy, are so obscure that they merit no attention. The principal Libyan nations inhabiting this region were the Adyrmachidæ and Ammonii: as for the Zygritæ, seated near the Greater Catabathmus, and the Buzes, lying more to the south, they are seldom mentioned by the ancients. However, it may not be improper to observe, that the chief towns of the former were Azicis, Tuccicora, and Tachorsa; and the capital of the latter Tanuthis. Pliny speaks of the Mareotæ as a people seated near the Adyrmachidæ. Some authors seem to make the Marmaridæ a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the Greater Catabathmus; but we are inclined to believe, that Marmaridæ was a name common to all the Libyans of Marmarica. If so, all these Libyans drank chiefly beer brewed at Alexandria; though sometimes they used Libyan wine. The Adyrmachidæ, according to Silius, fought with an ensis falcatus, or scymetar; and, if Scylax may be credited, were seated not far from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. It was customary for their wives to wear a chain of brass on each leg; to take great pains in dressing their hair; and if they happened to find a louse, to kill it with their teeth by way of retaliation. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's presence, in order that if any of them particularly pleased him, he might cohabit with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the Libyan habit, from whence probably they derived their name, *Addermuch* in Arabic denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almost in all points with the Egyptians. The Ammonii, so called from Jupiter Ammon, or Ammun, their chief deity, lay nearer Cyrenaica, and about ten days journey from Thebes in the Upper Egypt. Ptolemy mentions a place named Alexander's Camp, and the city of Ammon, as appertaining to this nation. Arrian, on the other hand, will

not allow Ammon to have been a city; but says, that it was only the spot of ground on which the temple of Ammon was erected. It seems probable from Herodotus, that the Ammonii were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and waged war against their neighbours; though part of their territories could be considered only as a barren sandy desert. Pliny makes the temple of Ammon fifteen days journey from Memphis, and mentions the Ammoniac nome of Egypt. Diodorus Siculus relates, that though the aforesaid temple was surrounded by a sandy desert, yet its proper district abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was ornamented with fountains. It had also several streets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a castle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the Fountain of the Sun, because the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. Pedonia, Pnigeus, Climax, and other inconsiderable Mediterranean towns, deserve not the least attention; nor are the small islands on the coast, Pedonia, Phocuse, Æncispasta, Ædonis or Ædonia, of sufficient importance to merit a description. We learn from Herodotus, that Cambyses, having advanced to Thebes in his way to Ethiopia; detached from thence a body of fifty thousand men, to lay waste the country of the Ammonii, and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon: but after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, raised the sands to such a degree, and occasioned such a torrent to flow in upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed, and perished. Alexander the Great, near two hundred years after, met with better success in his journey to that temple. Authors are not entirely agreed whether the Marmaridæ are to be looked upon as Libyans or Egyptians; but the greatest part rank them amongst the former. Father Calmet, in particular, thinks, that Marmarica was first peopled by the descendants of Lehabim, the son of Misraim, mentioned by Moses. Herodotus assures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the Egyptians, in the most important points. Though, in compliance with the general opinion, we have, therefore, in this place detached Marmarica from Egypt, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was subject to the kings of Egypt, for an account of the transactions which here occurred, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the history of that country, as well as those of the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, who successively subdued this kingdom ^f.

^f Herod. lib. iv. Scylax Caryand. in Periopl. Polyb. in Excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvii. sub fin.

S E C T. II.

The History of Cyrenaica.

CYRENAICA was bounded on the east by Marmarica, *Limits of Cyrenaica.* on the west by the Regio Syrtica, on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the south by the Sahara. In the geography of Cyrenaica, we find none of the ancients inconsistent with themselves but Strabo, who, almost in the same page, asserts it to have extended as far as Egypt, and maintains that Marmarica lay between those two regions. The maritime towns Darnis, Cherfis, Phycus, and Aptungis, were of no great repute, and therefore we shall pass over them; as likewise the promontories Phycus and Zephyrium, the ports Paratonius, and Naustathmus, with several other places of less note. The principal towns in this tract were Cyrene the metropolis, Arsinoe or Teuchira, Berenice, Ptolemais or Barce, and Apollonia, from whence the greatest part of it was named Pentapolis. Adriane or Hadrianopolis, so denominated from the emperor Adrian, could not vie with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no contemptible place. The castle Diacherfis, Tower of Hercules, port Diarrhæa, promontory Boreum, near the Greater Syrtis, merit little attention; nor is any thing farther necessary to be said of Automala, or Automalax, than that it was a fortress of considerable strength upon the frontiers of the Regio Syrtica.^g

The city of Cyrene, now called Cairoan, or Corcne, stood *City of Cyrene.* at some distance from the sea, upon a spot of ground resembling the figure of a table, according to Strabo. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as necessaries of life. Its territory produced great numbers of excellent horses; a circumstance which probably induced the Cyreneans, whether Libyans or Greeks, to apply themselves to the study and practice of every thing relative to those animals. Berenice, Teuchira, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Adriane, stood along the coast of the Mediterranean; and their inhabitants carried on a considerable trade. Cyrene derived its name from the fountain Cyre, near which it was situated. We shall not dwell upon the religion, language, and customs, of the proper Cyreneans; whatever has been said of their Greek ancestors, on each of these heads, is equally applicable to them.^h

^g Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi supra. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 38. p. 996. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 40. Suid. Steph. Byzant. Auct. Fab. August. &c. ^h Strabo, ubi supra. Pind. in Od. ad Arcefilanm Cyren. Herodot. lib. iv. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vi. Pausan. lib. vi. p. 366, & alib.

*Nature of
the soil,
&c. of Cy-
renaica.*

Though a great part of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica was a perfect desert, yet there were some fruitful plains in both those countries. The inhabitants were subject to fevers, which some have attributed to the insalubrity of the air. Except the Lathon, we find no considerable river of Cyrenaica taken notice of by the ancients, and some of them have even placed this in Mauritania. The Montes Velpi and Anagombri are the only mountains that seem to claim any relation to the country we are now noticing; and the Paulus Paliuri is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the Hesperides here, but others in Mauritania. Some parts of Cyrenaica and the Regio Syrtica were famous for the production of the silphium, a plant or shrub greatly celebrated by the ancients. The Libyans looked upon the stalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant as very precious; consequently esteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. Strabo intimates, that the Libyan Barbarians had destroyed almost all the roots of the silphium in their excursions before his time. Pliny says it was so scarce in his age, that a stalk of it was presented to Nero as a singular curiosity; and yet, that the laser, a gum proceeding from the silphium, or laserpitium, as we find it sometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of Severus, may be inferred from Galen. Aristotle, Aristophanes's scholiast, Tzetzes, Hesychius, and Suidas, insinuate the figure of the silphium to have been struck on the Cyrenean coins; a circumstance which is confirmed by many of them, that are still to be found in the cabinets of the virtuosi. The Carthaginians carried great quantities of the laser and silphium from Charax, a city near the confines of Cyrenaica, into their dominions, in exchange for which they supplied the Cyrcans with wine. This vegetable the Cyreneans offered to their first king Battus, whom they deified, looking upon it as the most valuable production of their country; for which reason we find it on the reverses of several of that prince's coins. That Cyrenaica likewise abounded with a rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by Theophrastus. Athenæus relates, that the roses, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except saffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that, in the time of Berenice, a most valuable ointment was made of the Cyrenean roses. As for the silphium, great quantities of it were imported into Greece, and many other countries. The ancients prepared it various ways, as well for food as physic, which appears from Athenæus and Hippocrates ¹.

¹ Herodot. Scylax, Strabo, Plin. Ptol. ubi supra.

The principal nations of this tract, or at least contiguous to it, were the Barcæi, the Pŷylli, and the Nafamones; the Aŷyŷtæ, and Macatutæ, being too obscure to merit any attention. Barce or Barca, the capital of the Barcæi, we find mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Scylax, and Ptolemy; the two former say it occupied the same spot that Ptolemais afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It seems to have stood to the west of Cyrene, and had a port near the Greater Syrtis. As Ptolemais was a maritime city, it is most probable that it stood by the port of the Barcæi, and not where Barce did; especially, as that capital was a hundred stadia from the sea, according to Scylax. Herodotus affirms Barca to have been built by the brothers of Arcesilaus III. king of Cyrene, more than a generation before the beginning of Cyrus's reign: but we are rather inclined to think, that it was of Phœnician, if not Egyptian, or Libyan extraction; for Barca was a Phœnician name, well known in these parts of Africa, as appears from Silius Italicus, and others. Servius intimates, that its citizens came originally from Carthage, which would induce one to believe that Barca, Dido's brother, who attended her into Africa, with some of his countrymen, settled here. It is evident from Virgil and Silius, that the Barcæi spread themselves over several considerable parts of Libya; and according to Servius, their metropolis made the greatest figure of any city in this region, except Cyrene. St. Jerom confirms the last authorities, when he asserts this town was situated in a desert; and that its inhabitants, or at least their descendents, dispersed themselves over several districts lying as far to the westward as Mauritania, and the eastward as India. The Barcæi learned, (says Stephanus,) the art of managing horses from Neptune, and of driving chariots from Minerva. They agreed, in most particulars, with the other Libyan nomades already mentioned. The modern kingdom and desert of Barca, extending from Egypt to the confines of the kingdom of Tripoli, correspond with the ancient Marmarica and Cyrenaica; though they undoubtedly received their name from the Barcæi. This may be considered as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held among the various nations of Libya^k.

The Pŷylli and Nafamones, according to Pliny, Silius, and Lucan, must have been seated near the Greater Syrtis; or behind the Regio Syrtica and Cyrenaica, if we adopt Strabo's opinion. The Pŷylli, as Herodotus informs us, having once had all their reservoirs of water dried up by the

Herodot. Scylax, Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi supra.

south wind, advanced into the Sahara, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of sand, and all perished. After this tragical event, their neighbours the Nafamones annexed the territories they possessed to their own dominions. Herodotus represents the Nafamones as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for some singular customs then prevalent amongst them. During the summer-season, they left their cattle on the coast, and dispersed themselves over the plains of *Ægila*, in order to gather the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewise they found an immense quantity of grasshoppers, which, having dried in the sun, they pulverized, and infused into milk. The liquor composed of these two ingredients was highly esteemed by them, as a most pleasant beverage. They had many wives, which they used in public, like the *Massagetæ*, after having erected a staff for a mark. The bride, amongst them, lay the first night with all the male guests invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a present, which he had brought with him for that purpose. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the sepulchres of those who had been generally esteemed the most just and excellent persons amongst them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their ancestors, where, after certain prayers, they fell asleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then occurred to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually presented a cup of liquor; and, if none was at hand, the parties took up some dust from the ground, which they put into their mouths. According to some authors it appears, that the Nafamones were looked upon by the ancients as little better than a numerous gang of banditti; as they made frequent incursions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a barbarous manner. We learn from *Philostratus*, that a people of the same name inhabited part of Ethiopia. The Libyan nations here mentioned possessed the countries they inhabited long before the Greeks built *Cyrene* ¹.

Transactions of Cyrenaica till subject to the Romans.

Battus the Theræan, according to Herodotus, with a colony of his countrymen, settled first in *Platæa*, an island on the coast of Libya. From thence they removed to that part of the continent opposite to this island, and took possession of a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills,

¹ Herodot. Strabo, Plin. Ptol. ubi supra. Lucan. lib. ix. v. 439, & seq. Sil. Ital. lib. i. v. 408. Philostrat. lib. vi. cap. 12.

and watered by two rivers running on each side, called Aziriftus. After six years residence here, the Libyans conducted them to Irafá, a charming country to the west of Aziriftus. In this region, near a fountain sacred to Apollo, they fixed their habitations, and built Cyrene, about the third year of the thirty-seventh Olympiad, according to Eusebius. We find nothing farther remarkable related of Battus I. except that he was cured of a stammering in his speech by the following accident: being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was surprised by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him, struck him with such terror, that he raised his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same time delivered Battus from the impediment he before laboured under. His son Arcefilaus I. probably made no great figure, since history is entirely silent as to any particulars of his reign. Battus II. son to Arcefilaus, built the city of Zoa, and reigned forty years, and his son Arcefilaus II. governed sixteen. Battus III. son to Arcefilaus II. furnished the Happy, being strengthened by the accession of a great number of Greeks, who came to live under his government, defeated Apries king of Egypt, in a great battle, near the fountain of Theftis in Irafá. The victory was so complete, that scarce any of the Egyptian troops returned home; so that Adieran, a neighbouring Libyan prince, who had induced Apries to attack Battus, could not afterwards make head against the Cyreneans, nor give them any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had before wrestled from him. Arcefilaus III. the son of Battus III. succeeded him; whose brothers, on account of some misunderstanding they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and as Herodotus asserts, built Barca. Before that city was finished, they found means to excite Arcefilaus's Libyan subjects to a revolt. However, he marched against them with an army, and pursued them into the eastern parts of Libya. But, having there assembled a numerous body of troops, they came to a resolution to give him battle, in which he was totally routed. Arcefilaus, a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother Aliarchus, who, in his turn, was put to death by that prince's wife Erixo. Battus IV. Arcefilaus's son, surnamed the *Lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign Demonax, a Mantinean legislator, arrived at Cyrene; and, at the king's desire, introduced several alterations into the preceding form of government. Arcefilaus IV. son to the former prince, endeavouring to restore the

Cyrenian constitution to its former state, was driven by his subjects to Samos; his mother Pheretima at the same time escaping to Salamis in the island of Cyprus. Euclthos, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent presents; but found means to evade sending an army to reinstate her son in the possession of his dominions. Arcefilaus afterwards retired to Barca, having married the daughter of Alazar, king of the Barcæi; and was assassinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time Pheretima established her authority at Cyrene; and, after her son's death, applied to Aryandes, the Persian governor of Egypt, for assistance, to revenge Arcefilaus's death, who, she pretended, was murdered for his attachment to the Medes. She had some grounds for such an application, as her son had put himself under the protection of Cambyfes, and acknowledged himself tributary to him. Aryandes first sent an herald to Barca, to inquire whether the Barcæi had been guilty of the assassination of Arcefilaus; and, upon their acknowledging it, he sent a land-army, commanded by Amasis, and a fleet, under the conduct of Badres, to take vengeance of the assassins. The Persians soon invested the city of Barca, and carried on the siege ineffectually for the space of nine months. However, at length they gained possession of it by treachery. Amasis, after the reduction of Barca, put the city into the hands of Pheretima; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of Arcefilaus to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the Persian general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of Arcefilaus, and permitted Pheretima to give Barca into their custody. Badres, the Persian admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to Egypt, to plunder Cyrcne; but was prevented by Amasis. The Libyans extremely harrassed the Persians in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers, and attending their army as far as the borders of Egypt. All the prisoners were sent to Darius Hytaspis, who settled them in a district of Bactria, which was from them denominated Barca. Pheretima is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms; a fate which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by Providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the Cyreneans, and Libyans, with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the Persian empire, are not very remarkable in history. Aristotle gives us to understand, that in his time Cyrene was a republic; which

which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of Battus's line, Demonax's form of government took place; though the Cyrenians might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the Persians. It appears from Sallust, that the people of Cyrene were free, when the contention happened between them and the Carthaginians about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the Macedonians subdued Egypt, as we find asserted by Strabo. Towards the beginning of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, one Ariston seized upon Cyrene, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were soon after compromised, and all former acts of hostility buried in oblivion. Alexander had not been long dead, when Thimbro invaded Cyrenaica, overthrew the Cyreneans, and obliged them to purchase a peace with five thousand talents of silver, and half of their armed chariots. However, Mnasielus a Cretan, one of his officers, afterwards excited them to revolt against him, when they forced him to abandon the port of Cyrene, and obtained several considerable advantages over him. Nevertheless Thimbro, bringing them to another general action, entirely defeated them, though he was soon after defeated by Ophellas, and taken prisoner. This victory rendered that general master of Cyrenaica, and he ceded it to Ptolemy. However, it seems probable, from what we have observed, in the history of the Carthaginians, that Ophellas, by some means, obtained the sovereignty of this country. Magas, the brother of Ptolemy Lagus, whose daughter Ptolemy Philadelphus married, reigned, according to Agatharcides, at Cyrene fifty years. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from Polyænus, who has transmitted to us an account of one of his stratagems. Plutarch intimates, that Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, being in love with Aretaphila, the wife of one Phædimus, or, as Polyænus asserts, Melanippus, the priest of Apollo, slew her husband, in order to enjoy her; and that she dissembled her resentment, till she found an opportunity of destroying him; an aim which she at last effected, and thereby delivered her country from servitude. But whether this last event happened before the time of Magas, or afterwards, we cannot determine. Be this as it may, it remained under the kings of Egypt, till Ptolemy Physcon transferred it to his natural son surnamed Apion, who, in the year of Rome 658, left it by will to the Romans. The senate, instead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; a permission which immediately filled the country with tyrants, those
who

who were most powerful in every district endeavouring to make themselves sovereigns of it. This contention threw the kingdom of Cyrenaica into great confusion; but Lucullus in a great measure restored the public tranquillity, on his arrival, during the first Mithridatic war. The descendants of those (E) Jews, settled here by the first Ptolemy, are said to have greatly contributed to those disturbances. However, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a Roman province, about twenty years after the death of Apion, and seventy-six before the birth of Christ. Strabo tells us, that in his time Crete and Cyrenaica formed one Roman province. Upon a revolt Cyrene was destroyed by the Romans; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the Arabs, and at length to the Turks, who are the present possessors of it^m (F).

S E C T.

^m Herodot. lib. iv. Pausan. in Phocic. Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. Polyæn. lib. ii. cap. 28. ex. 1, 2. & lib. viii. cap. 33, 41. Pausan. in Attic. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Agatharchid. Strab. lib. xvii. Euseb. in Chron. ad An. 3. Olymp. 37. p. 122. Plut. in Lucul.

(E) Amongst the descendants of these Cyrenean Jews may be ranked Jason, who wrote the history of the Maccabees, in five books, of which the second book of Maccabees, still extant, is an abridgment; Simon, who carried our Saviour's cross; and others mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (1).

(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. Aristippus, a disciple of Socrates, and the chief of the Cyrenaic sect.

2. Areta, daughter to Aristippus, who presided over the Cyrenaic school after the death of her father.

3. Aristippus the younger, son to Areta, by whose instructions he became a famous phi-

losopher, and from thence was styled Metrodidactus.

4. Anniceris, who reformed the Cyrenaic sect, or rather founded another that was called the Annicerian.

5. Callimachus, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of Battus and Melisma, and disciple of Hermocrates the grammarian.

6. Eratosthenes, the son of one Aglaus, or, according to others, Ambrosius, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the Egyptian court. He was the scholar of Aristo the Chian, Lyfianias the grammarian, and the poet Callimachus.

7. Carneades, the son of Epicomus, or Philocomus, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the second founded by Arcefilaus.

(1) Act. cap. ii. ver. 1. & cap. vi. ver. 9.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Regio Syrtica.

THE Regio Syrtica, so called because the two Syrtes *Description
of the Regio
Syrtica.* were the northern extremities of its eastern and western limits, was bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the south by the country of the Nasamones, and the Sahara; on the east by Cyrenaica; and on the west by Africa Propria. The tower of Euphrantas and the town of Charax, above mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of Cyrenaica, as Auxiqua, Leptis Magna, Garapha, Abrotonum, Sabrata, and Tacape, were on the sea-coast betwixt the rivers Cinyps and Triton. With respect to Gerisa, Iscina, Amuncla, Sicapha, Musta, Butta, and several other obscure Mediterranean towns mentioned by Ptolemy and the Itinerary, we seldom find them taken notice of by any ancient historian. The Cinyps of Scylax, however, seems to have been a city of some repute. Pliny and Herodotus intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful district called Cinyphæ, which, as well as the city above mentioned, might have been so called from the river of the same name. To pass by the Samamycii, Damenii, Nigbeni, Nycpii, Nigintimi, Muchthufsi, and many other inconsiderable tribes recited by Pliny and Ptolemy, the only nations of this country deserving any attention were the Cinethii, Gindanes, Macæ, and Lotophagi. The Cinethii, or Cinithii, mentioned by Ptolemy, situated behind the Machyni, about the Lesser Syrtis, were a respectable nation, as we learn from Tacitus. The Gindanes, according to Herodotus, were seated not far from the Cinyps: their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and she who had the greatest number was the most esteemed. The Macæ were contiguous to the Garamantes, and were a pretty potent nation. They shaved their heads all over, except the middle, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the skins of ostriches in-

8. Cronus Apollonius, the whose name was assumed by his master of Diodorus the logician, scholar (2).

(2) Strab. lib. xvii. p. 576. Diog. Laert. in Aristip. in Carnead. & alib. Posidon. apud Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vii. Suid. in Ἐπεροσθίνης, in Καλλιμαχίου, & alib. Schol. in Aristoph. Kan. act. iv. sc. 2. Aul. Gell. lib. vii. cap. 14. & lib. xvii. cap. 15.

stead

stead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the sea-side, and in summer to the inland places near some fountain or river, for the sake of water, according to Scylax. They are likewise called by the ancients Macæ Cinyphii, and Macæ Syrtitæ, from their vicinity to the Cinyps and the Greater Syrtis; but the Lotophagi were the most famous people of the tract we are now mentioning. If we may credit Scylax, they extended themselves almost from the Greater to the Lesser Syrtis. That author calls them Libyes Lotophagi, and tells us, that the lotus served them both for meat and drink; from which circumstance they derived their name. Pliny says, that some authors called them Alachroæ, and that many of them were found about the Philænorum Aræ. Strabo likewise affirms that the country of the Lotophagi extended from the Lesser Syrtis, which he calls Lotophagiitis Syrtis, to the confines of Cyrenaica; and that this people were not sensible of the want of water in the burning sandy region they inhabited, as the root and stalks of the lotus supplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. A good part of the Regio Syrtica was a perfect desert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly the tree and plant of the lotus. Herodotus tells us, that the fruit of the tree was of the same size with that of the Lentiscus, but exceedingly sweet like the date; as also that the Lotophagi made wine of it. Pliny says, that the lotus was transplanted to Italy, but that its qualities were much altered by that transplantation. He likewise asserts its fruit to have been of the size of a bean, and of the colour of saffron, when ripe. In Africa it resembled that of a myrtle. The best species of this tree produced a fruit without a kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a stone. The wine expressed from it tasted like mead, being extremely sweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itself, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruised and mixed with wheat, the Libyans laid up in large vessels; and this mixture served them for food. Theophrastus and Dioscorides say, the plant lotus resembled a lily, and represent it both as physic and food. Some of the moderns think one species of it to have been the same as the Colocasia, or Faba Ægyptia, and the other as the Nymphæa Nilotica; but though it might agree with these plants in many particulars, yet that it differed considerably from them in others, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverses of many ancient Egyptian coins. Several of these coins, struck in the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, exhibit the leaves, stalk, and fruit, of the plant lotus,

and

and consequently give us a tolerable idea of it: however, the moderns can arrive at no certain conclusions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the Cinyps, which derived its stream from a fountain, or a hill, called Zuchabari, in the country of the Macæ, and emptied itself into the Sinus Syrticus. The word Zuchabari, in Punic, Phœnician, or Libyan, signified the Hill of the Graces, as we find it called by Herodotus. The river Cinyps, according to Bochart, took its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the Regio Syrtica were Gigius and Thizibi, of which, however, we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories Hippus and Cephalæ scarce deserve to be mentioned. Of the islands appertaining to this country the most noted were Meninx and Cercina; Ptolemy's Gaia, Pontia, and Misy-nus, being quite obscure. The island Myrmex more properly belonged to Cyrenaica, as it was not far distant from the port of the Barcæi. Pliny makes Meninx (G), near the Lesser Syrtis, twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and farther observes, that it had two towns, Meninx, facing the coast of Africa, and Thoar, opposite to the Lesser Syrtis. We find it named Lotophagitis, not only by the authors above mentioned, but likewise by Polybius and Eratosthenes. As for Cercina, it lay N. E. of Meninx, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the same name, and two commodious harbours. Thus stands the geography of the Regio Syrtica, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of Tripoli seems at present to correspond^a.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all material points with the other Libyan Nomades, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing farther of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, and language (H). The transactions

Its inhabitants subject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans, Numidians, and Romans.

^a Herodot. Strab. Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi supra. Scylax Caryand. in Peripl. Antonin. Itinerar. Theophrast. Hist. Pl. lib. iv. cap. 10. Plut. de Isid. p. 355, 378, & alib. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 92. Diofcorid. lib. iv. cap. 114.

(G) This island was called Girba about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name of Zerbi or Zarbi (1). ers of cattle; eat flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the Egyptians. The women of Cyrene accounted it a crime to

(H) From Egypt to the lake Tritonis the Libyans were bred- strike a cow. For the customs,

(1) Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 3.

manners,

transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to Carthage, could not, we apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the Egyptian empire, whom Josephus and Sir Isaac Newton take to be the same prince with Sefac. How long they remained subject to the Egyptians, history is silent; but it is probable a body of them composed a division of Zerah's numerous army. Part of the Regio Syrtica seems to have been under the dominion of the Cyreneans till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the Carthaginians mentioned by Sallust; but at what period this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the Carthaginians, till they were deprived of it by Masinissa. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions^o.

Some particulars relating to Libya, hitherto omitted.

Herodotus observes, that the Libyans in general went by the name of Atlantes or Atlantides, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation, who, he tells us, cursed the Sun every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, pursuing him with the bitterest invectives, because he consumed both them and their country with his burning rays. From that author and Diodorus it likewise appears, that the Atlantides were seated upon, and in the neighbourhood of, Mount Atlas, which, from its height, the Libyans styled the Pillar of Heaven. Herodotus also intimates, that no one of this nation either eat flesh, or was ever disturbed in his sleep by dreams. In the territories of the Atlantides, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped considerable advantages from several mines of salt, which was of two colours, white and purple. Herodotus farther says, that many of the Libyans built houses of this salt, which, as no rain ever fell in those parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered with regard to the Nigritæ, we must beg leave to add, that they were known to the Egyptians, Ammonii, and Cyreneans, before the time of Herodotus; for that author, when in Egypt, learned from some Cyreneans, who had the relation from Etearchus, king of the

^o Sallust. in Jugurth. Appian. in Libyc. cap. 63. ed. Tol. Amst. 1670.

manners; and religion, of the Libyans inhabiting the country to the west of the Triton, we must refer our readers to Herodotus (1).

Ammonii, that five bold Nafamonian youths, sent to make new discoveries through the deserts of Libya, at last came to a city inhabited by men of a low stature, by which flowed a great river abounding with crocodiles, which Etearchus judged to be the Nile. This relation agrees extremely well with Marmol, who assures us, that the people seated on the northern bank of the Nigir are dwarfs; and also seems to add some weight to the authority of the Arabian geographers, who make the Nile and the Niger different branches of the same river, and assert the source of this river to be in Ethiopia (H). The island Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, seems to have been somewhere on the coast of Libya Interior; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be discovered from the ancients, who differ widely amongst themselves with regard to its situation. We must own ourselves likewise as much in the dark with regard to Plato's island Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Asia and Africa together. Some of the moderns are disposed to think, from several circumstances, that it was the vast continent now called America; others suppose, that it lay nearer the Pillars of Hercules; and, lastly, others suggest, that every thing related of it is to be considered as an undoubted fiction. Much may be said in defence of each opinion; however, the first appears to us the most probable. Ammianus Marcellinus asserts, that Plato on this occasion has not written a fable, but a true history; and Proclus cites Marcellus, an Ethiopic historian, in defence of what that philosopher has advanced concerning this island. Crantor also, Plato's first interpreter, takes this relation to be a true history. That the island here alluded to was not so near the Straights as some modern authors suppose, seems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the Phœnicians in early times sailed beyond Hercules's Pillars, along the African coast, and there meeting with storms and tempests, were carried to the remotest parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a large island at a great distance from Libya, and lying very far west. This country, continues the same author, had a fruitful soil, and navigable rivers, and, from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians came to the knowledge of it. And in the same place he says, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation

(H) The word Libya may be deduced from the Hebrew *Laab*, corresponding with the Arabic *Lub*, signifying a dry parched country.

Africa is by Dr. Hyde de-

rived from the Phœnician or Punic *Havarca*, *Havreca*, or *Avreca*; i. e. the *Barca*, or the country of Barca, which was one of the most remarkable parts of this continent.

to settle in this new region, but reserved it for themselves, that, if ever they should be driven from their native soil, they might have an asylum. *Ælian* says, *Silenus* expressly asserted to *Midas*, that there was an extensive continent beyond Europe, Asia, and Africa, which ought to be considered as islands surrounded by the ocean. These, and other passages, that might be extracted from the ancients, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had some faint knowledge of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them.



C H A P. LXXVIII.

The History of the Ethiopians.

S E C T. I.

Description of Ethiopia.

*The Proper
Ethiopia,
where si-
tuated.*

SEVERAL of the ancients gave the name of Ethiopians to all persons either perfectly black, or of a very swarthy complexion. The Arabs, therefore, and other Asiatics, as well as a great number of Africans, fell under this denomination. The Africans we find divided into the western or Hesperian Ethiopians, and the Ethiopians above Egypt, situated to the east of the former. The Hesperian Ethiopians inhabited that vast tract called Libya Interior, the history of whose principal nations we have already given. The eastern African Ethiopians (for so those above Egypt may be properly styled) were much better known to the ancients than the others, on account of their commerce with the Egyptians, who considered them as the proper Ethiopians. These are the people whose transactions, from the earliest accounts of time, we are now to relate.

*Limits and
extent of
Ethiopia.*

Ethiopia, or rather Ethiopia Propria, was limited on the north by Egypt, on which side it extended to the Lesser Ca-

P Herodot. lib. ii. & lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. I. Leo African. Ælian. de Animal. pass. Agathemer. lib. ii. cap. 2. Geogr. Nubienf. clim. iv. part. 1. Hæde in Peritfol. p. 13, 14, 15, 16. Piat. in Timæ. & in Crit. Strab. lib. ii. p. 33. Polyb. & Corn. Nep. apud Plin. lib. vi. cap. 31. Hanno & Scylax in Peripl.

taract,

taraët, and the island Elephantine; on the west by Libya Interior; on the east by the Red Sea; and on the south by a part of Africa unknown to the ancients, but probably that space including the modern kingdoms of Giugiro, Alaba, Machida, and part of Adel or Zeila. However, as the Proper Ethiopia might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the sides of Libya Interior and Libya Incognita, we cannot pretend to fix, with any precision, its frontiers. Nevertheless it seems, for many ages at least, to have been the same tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of Dongola, Sennar, and Abassia, with part of Adel or Zeila; and consequently to have taken up seventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropic of Cancer to within six degrees of the line ⁹.

The Proper Ethiopia was variously denominated by the ancients. Sometimes they called it India, and its inhabitants Indians; which appellation they applied to many of the remotest nations. This country, or at least a neighbouring part of Libya, was likewise named Atlantia and Ætheria, according to Pliny and Strabo, or, as Hesychius asserts, Aeria. It also bore, in very early ages, the name of Cephena: but we apprehend it to have been most usually called Abasene, a word approaching very near, both in sound and signification, to the modern Habash, Habesh, or Abassia; the true etymology of which will be given to our readers, when we come to the history of Arabia ¹.

*Different
names of
Ethiopia.*

On the other hand we find Chaldæa, Assyria, and Persia, styled Ethiopia by some very good authors; and, it must be allowed, that the ancients called all those countries, extending themselves beyond each side of the Red Sea, indiscriminately India or Ethiopia. The eastern people at this day sometimes denominate that kingdom India, which the Europeans call Abassia, particularly the Persians, who for the most part give the appellation of Siah Hindou or Hindi, to an Abassine or modern Ethiopian. It appears from several authors, that the Red Sea itself went formerly under the name of the Indian Sea; and Ludolfus observes, that the ancients called all those nations under the Torrid Zone, whose names they were ignorant of, Indians ².

⁹ Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. v. cap. 9. Ptol. ubi sup. Job. Ludolf. in Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 2. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. ¹ Plin. lib. vi. cap. 20. Herodot. Strab. ubi sup. Hesych. Vide etiam Le Grand. Dissert. ii. ² Protop. Gaz. Comment. in 1 Reg. cap. x. ver. 1. Jos. Scalig. in Comp. Eccles. Æthiop. Theodor. in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 22. Le Grand. ubi sup. & I. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 1.

*Called in
Scripture
Cush.*

According to the Jews, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other versions, Cush, when taken for a country in Scripture, is always to be understood of the Proper Ethiopia. This opinion is supported by Philo, Josephus, Eupolemus in Eusebius, Eustathius, the author of the Alexandrian Chronicon, and the concurrent testimony of the Greek and Latin fathers.

*Different
nations of
Ethiopia.*

The ancients believed the black complexion of the Abasines or Abyssinians to be occasioned by the intense heat of their climate, and therefore called them Ethiopians. We find them, likewise called *Ætherii* and *Aerii* by Hefychius, Pliny, and Strabo. Pliny relates, that the Blemmyes, an Ethiopian nation, seated near the borders of Egypt, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breasts. This description ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might possibly proceed from their having very short necks. However, that some Blemmyan captives made a very extraordinary appearance at Rome, we learn from Vopiscus. The Nobatæ inhabited one of the banks of the Nile, near the island Elephantine, having been removed thither from Oasis, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repress the incursions of the Blemmyes. Some authors refer the Troglodytes to Egypt, and others to Ethiopia. Be that as it may, they were a very savage nation, living in caves, according to Strabo, feeding upon serpents and lizards, and having a language of no articulate sounds, but resembled the shrieking of bats, according to Herodotus. The Nubians we find just mentioned by the ancients as a people of Ethiopia, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors assert, that the Pygmies were a canton of the Troglodytes; but it is generally agreed, that they had their situation not far from the Ethiopic shore of the Red Sea. Nonnosus in Photius tells us, that they were extremely short, black, and hairy all over their bodies. Most of these nations are represented by Strabo as inconsiderable, and little better than so many gangs of robbers. Bochart thinks, that the Troglodytes, including the Pygmies or *Pygmæi*, were styled by the Hebrews סֻכְכַּי, i. e. *Succhæi*, from סֻכָּה, *Succah*, a den; for that word signifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to suppose, the Troglodytic town *Succha*, on the coast of the Red Sea, mentioned by Pliny, the modern *Suaquem*, the seat of a Turkish bashaw, deduced its name. In support of this notion it may be observed, that the Septuagint and Vulgate versions render סֻכְכַּי *Τρωγλοδυται*, *Troglodytæ*, a word derived apparently from *τρώγλη*, i. e. *a cave, den, or passage*; and rank this people among the Cushites, Lybians, and other nations, that

that formed the numerous army of Sefac. The Aualitæ or Abalitæ were seated near the Aballtic gulph; which is all that we can collect of them. Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Agathemerus, inform us, that the Struthophagi, who lived upon ostriches as large as stags, were situated immediately to the south of the Memnonæ. The Acridophagi, Chelonophagi, Ichthyophagi, Cynamolgi, Elephantophagi, Rhizophagi, Spermatophagi, Hylophagi, and Ophiophagi, derived their names from the locusts, tortoises, fish, bitches milk, and elephants, they fed upon. The Acridophagi were very small, swift, black, and short-lived, the oldest of them not exceeding forty years of age: locusts were their food, with which they were plentifully supplied by certain winds, which covered their country with them, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. As for the Chelonophagi, they covered their houses with the shells of tortoises, and lived upon their flesh. The Ichthyophagi occupied a maritime part of Ethiopia, bordering on the Red Sea, and not far from the frontiers of Egypt: as they lived upon all kinds of fish, large and small, Aben-Ezra takes them to be the דגים Tziim of the Psalmist, to whom God, for meat, gave the heads of Leviathan, under which name, according to that author, Moses comprehends all fish of a vast size. The Troglodytes made their bread of the flesh of fishes dried in the sun. The Psalmist, in the passage referred to, is speaking of Pharaoh and the Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards thrown upon the Troglodytic shore. Tziim properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, such as was that of the Troglodytes; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour such an opinion. They built their houses of whalebones and shells of fishes. The ribs served for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their cattle with fish, and inhabited caves in mountains. The Cynamolgi kept great numbers of dogs, in order to hunt wild beasts, and sometimes fed upon bitches milk: Pliny fabulously relates, that they had dogs heads. The Elephantophagi seem to have inhabited the southern parts of Ethiopia, and destroyed elephants in a very dexterous manner. The Rhizophagi were seated not far from the conflux of the Astaboras, Astapus, and the Nile. Their territory abounded with morasses that produced a great number of canes, whose roots served them for food. The Spermatophagi and Hylophagi formed two neighbouring cantons; the first of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in summer, but the rest of the year upon a sweet plant, with a stalk somewhat resembling that of a turnip; and the latter,

with their wives and children lived upon the buds and tender shoots of trees. The Hylogones, neighbours to the Elephantophagi, resided for the most part in the woods, and generally slept on trees: their curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beasts, we shall hereafter describe. The Pamphagi used every thing indiscriminately for food; and the Agriophagi fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The Ophiophagi, or Serpent-eaters, inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from Pliny. The Ethiopian Anthropophagi, or Man-eaters, mentioned by Marcianus and Ptolemy, seem to have been the Cafres, and not a people of Proper Ethiopia. As for the Gapachi, Ptoemphanes, Catadupi, Pechini, Catadræ, and other obscure Ethiopic tribes, we know nothing of them but their bare names. The number of nations inhabiting Ancient Ethiopia will not surprise us, when we have seen Ludolfus's description of the kingdom of Abyssinia † (D).

Cities.

Axume.

This region did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. Auxume, Auxumis, or Axome, the metropolis of Ethiopia, according to Arrian and Nonnosus in Photius, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern Axuma, or, as the Abassines call it, Ascum. The noble palace and beautiful structures this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It stands about forty-five Portuguese leagues from the Red Sea, and in 14 degrees 30 minutes N. lat. It resembles now a village, being almost totally destroyed, and scarcely affords shelter to a hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple. The Portuguese, who first visited this coun-

† Herodot. lib. iv. Philostratus & Ctesius Cnidius apud Phot. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. lib. iii. in Excerptis Photii. Diocl. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvii. & lib. xviii. Mel. lib. iii. cap. 8. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 24, 29, 30. & alib. pass. Arrian. in Peripl. Mar. Erythr. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the following: 1. The Hippophagi or Horse-eaters of Agathemerus, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of Libya Incognita. 2. The Macrobiani, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of a hundred and twenty years, according to Herodotus. 3. The Sambri, not far from the Nubian city Tenupsis upon the Nile, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears. 4. The Asuchæ, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting elephants (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. ii. Agath. lib. ii. cap. 5. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 30.

try,

try, called Axuma corruptly Chaxumo or Cassumo. Behind the temple above mentioned, which was a hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been delapidated by the Turks. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an ancient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be distinguished except some Greek and Latin letters, and the word Basilius. When the Abassine monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of this temple. Pselchius or Pselcha, and Premmis, through which Petronius marched in his Ethiopic expedition, stood upon the western bank of the Nile; but their true situation cannot be traced. Napata, where Candace queen of Ethiopia resided, was on the opposite bank; but in what direction it is to be sought for we cannot precisely inform our readers. Ptolemy mentions two towns called Premis or Primis, one of which might possibly have been the Premnis of Strabo. The emporia or marts of Malis, Mondus, Abalis, Mosylon, Coloe, and Opone, probably made a good figure in ancient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. Petronius reduced Pselcha, Premnis, and Napata, in the above mentioned expedition, rasing Napata, and leaving a garrison of four hundred men in Premnis, with provisions for two years. Pliny mentions a city of the Nubians upon the Nile called Tenupsis, with which possibly either Couxa, Nuvala, Galva, Duncala or Ielac, all placed by the Nubian geographer near the conflux of the Nile and the Astaboras, may correspond. Duncala, the Dumcala of Jacutus, the Dungala of Leo, and the present Dungola, the capital of the Nubians, all the cities of which are seated upon the Nile, seems to bid the fairest for being the place. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deserve the least attention^u.

Ethiopia, as appears from the best modern geographical descriptions of Abassia, as well as the ancients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note mentioned by the ancients, except the Mounts Garbata and Elephas or Phalangis. Whether the mountains of Tigre, the highest of which is Lamalmon, beginning about two days journey from the Red Sea, answer to either of these, we shall not presume to determine; but that they did, by

^u Strab. Mel. Plin. Arrian. Ptol. Marcian. Heracl. Steph. Byzant. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubient. clim. i. part. 4. Leo African. lib. vii. cap. ult. Vide etiam Ludolf. lib. ii. cap. 11. & Le Grand, Dissert. ii.

the situation assigned them, seems not improbable. Be that as it may, the path over Lamalmon, whose ascent is exceedingly steep and dangerous, is so narrow, that two persons cannot pass one another, and he who falls is irrecoverably lost. Several provinces of Abassia, namely Bagemdra or Bagemeder, Gojam, Waleka, and Shewa, make but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are those of Ambara and Samen. The Aorni, as the Abassines call them, are rugged rocks of such an incredible height, that the Alps and Pyrenees are but low hills in comparison of them. Amongst the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of Abassia, steep and craggy rocks of various forms are to be met with, some resembling towers, and others pyramids, so smooth on the sides, that they seem to be the effect of labour and art; insomuch that men and cattle are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of these rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, and fish-ponds, which very copiously supply the animals which graze there with all the conveniences of life. The most remarkable of these rocks is Geshen or Amba-Geshen, on the confines of Amhara, towards Shewa, prodigiously steep, in the form of a castle built of freestone, and almost impregnable. Its summit is about half a Portuguese league in breadth, and its circumference would take near half a day to go round it. The ascent at first is easy, but afterwards so steep and rugged, that the Abassine oxen, which will otherwise climb like goats, must be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages, amongst shrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely sufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to Kircher, in the province of Gojam, a rock so curiously hollowed by nature, that at a distance it resembles a looking-glass; and opposite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be so softly whispered but that it may be heard at a great distance. Between many of these rocks and mountains are vast precipices or abysses, which appear most dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above mentioned Amba, as Amba-Salam, Amba Geshen, Amba-Dorho, Amba-Damp, Amba-Samet, &c.^v

The climate of Ethiopia.

In so mountainous a region as Ethiopia the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where so many different seasons may be found in so small a compass. The Ethiopic, as well as the opposite coast of the

^v Strab. lib. xvii. Agathemer. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 15. Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 6. Curt. lib. viii. Le Grand, Dissert. ii. Athan. Kirch. in Musurg. Univers. tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. 6.

Red Sea, together with those low open places called by the modern Abassines Kolla, and the islands of this sea, are intolerably scorched by the solar rays in the summer season. Nay, Gregory the Abassine reported, that the heat in the island of Suaquema or Suaquena, was so intense, as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard Indian wax in a cabinet, and sear a garment with red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; and, according to father Tellez, the summer heats are milder in several districts of Abassia than in Portugal; and even in Samen the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In some provinces of Ethiopia the winter is extremely severe, in others as warm as the summer in several parts of Europe. The Ethiopians have little or no snow, but only a small sort of hail that sometimes covers the ground, and at a distance resembles snow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempests, that terrify both man and beast, which proceed from the excessive variety of air. Ludolfus thinks that Gregory's four seasons, Matzau, Tzadai, Hagai, and Cramt, are in reality but three; namely, the spring, summer, and winter. The spring begins on the twenty-fifth day of September; the summer consists of two parts, the first called Tzadai, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of December, and the second denominated Hagai in the Abassine tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of June; lastly, Cramt, or the winter, concludes the Ethiopic year. The climate here in general is so healthy, that it is no uncommon thing for the natives to attain a hundred years of age. However, towards the beginning of the spring, that is to say, in the months of September and October, an epidemic fever sometimes makes great havock amongst the inhabitants of Tigre*.

The days and nights in Ethiopia, as lying betwixt the tropic of Cancer and the Line, are for the most part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are, generally speaking, salubrious and pleasant; but the atmosphere over the plains, for want of them, stagnates, and becomes unwholesome. The wind Sendo, however, is far from being beneficial to the Abassines. It is a whirlwind so impetuously violent, that it levels all before it; and therefore in some respect may seem to answer its name, which, in the Amharic dialect, signifies a *serpent* or *snake*. Gregory informed Ludolfus, that it might be seen, and represented an immense serpent whose head moved on the ground, and

* Nonnosus apud Phot. not. 3. p. m. 2. Gregor. Abassin. apud Job. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 5.

the body erected itself in curls and windings up to the sky. The soil in those parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantities of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a surprising variety of animals, it abounds with; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it asserted by the best authors, that the Abassines have sometimes two, and at others three, harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure through all the different seasons of the year. Though they have delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost entirely confine themselves to malt-liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some parts of Europe ^r.

*Rivers.
The Nile,*

Of all the rivers that water Ethiopia, the most famous is the Nile, which has its source in that country. Many of the ancient geographers, and in particular Ptolemy, placed the source of this river beyond the line, on some mountains which they called the Mountains of the Moon: but the moderns, particularly the Portuguese, have discovered this opinion to be erroneous. What they have advanced on this subject has been, in a great measure, confirmed by Gregory the Abassine, in a letter to the famous Job Ludolfus. According to that curious person, the spring-head of the Nile first appears in a tract called Secut, upon the top of Dengla, near the frontiers of Gojam, to the west of Bagemdra, Dara, the lake of Tzana, and Bada. From thence it takes its course towards Amhara, leaving Gojam on the right, and Bagemdra on the left. Having passed the limits of Amhara, and in such a manner surrounded the kingdom of Gojam, as always to leave it on the right, it washes the confines of Waleka, and then approaches the farthest bounds of Mugara and Shewa. Then, running between Bizama and Gongga, it comes into the country of the Chankalas; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the western climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of Sennar: but before its arrival there, it is greatly increased by the influx of two large rivers from the east, namely, the Tacaza issuing out of Tigre, and the Guangua descending from Dambea. After taking a view of the kingdom of Sennar, it moves to the borders of Dongola,

^r Strab. lib. xvii. Greg. Abass. ubi sup. PP. Hieronym. Lup. Balthaz. Tellez. Alphons. Mendez. & Job. Ludolf. pass.

and proceeds to the kingdom of Nubia (E). From hence, turning to the right, it reaches at last a region called Abrim, where its stream becomes unnavigable, occasioned by the cliffs and rocks, and soon afterwards enters Egypt. The travellers therefore from Sennar and Abassia, after having passed through Nubia, leave the Nile to the east, and cross upon camels a desert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing else but sand, is to be seen. From Abrim it continues its course to Rif or Upper Egypt, where the above mentioned travellers again meet it; and, after having traversed the kingdom of Egypt in a northern direction, discharges itself into the Mediterranean near Alexandria. Father Payz, who viewed the fountains of the Nile himself, says, that the source of this river consists of two round spring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is marshy. However, the water does not issue immediately from these two spring-heads, but from the foot of the hill, about a musquet-shot from whence, towards the east, the river begins to flow. Then, winding to the north about the fourth part of a Portuguese league, it is joined by another river, and a little farther by two more from the east, soon after which it enlarges itself with the addition of several other streams. Lastly, about a day's journey farther it swallows up the river Jema; and, after flowing twenty Portuguese leagues in a western direction, turns to the east, and plunges itself into a vast lake (F). It is remarkable, that all the rivers of Ethiopia, at any considerable distance from the ocean, except the Hanazo rising in

(E) It is observable, that Gregory here distinguishes the kingdom of Sennar from that of Nubia, though at present they are looked upon to be the same. However, in our opinion, Gregory's authority is superior to that of Pomet and the missionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends.

(F) This is probably the lake of Tzana, through which the Nile passes, still preserving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the south, it washes on the left-hand the principal kingdoms of Abassia, name-

ly, Bagemdra, Amhara, Waleka, Shewa, Damota, &c. and takes with it the rivers of those countries, viz. the Bashilo, Tzohha, Keccm, Jema, Roma, and Woncit. Then on the right-hand surrounding Gojam, and swelled with the Muga, Abaja, Aswari, Temei, Gult, and Tzul, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the west; leaves Abassia upon the right; and runs in a northern direction through several thirsty nations, and sandy deserts, in order to fertilize Egypt with its inundations (1).

(1) Greg. Abas. apud Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 3. Ludolf. Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 122, 123, & seq.

Hangota or Angote, and the Hawash or Aoaxe running through the kingdoms of Dawara and Fatagara or Fategur, flow into the Nile. The Etesian winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the Nile, as some authors have imagined; nor the snow melted from the Ethiopian mountains, according to others: but they are occasioned by the prodigious rains with which the countries under the torrid zone are washed, when the sun returns into the winter signs. The modern Abassines, though they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the Nile deduces its source, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the course of that river after it leaves them. However, the constant and ancient tradition amongst them is, that near a certain mountain, at some distance from the city of Sennar, it divides itself into two streams, one of which runs to the westward, and forms the river Niger, and the other in a northern direction takes its course through Egypt. This circumstance we learn from the Nubian geographer, who at the same time intimates, that the channel running to the east of this mountain, watering Nubia and the land of Egypt, is divided in the Lower Egypt into four parts, three of which fall into the Syrian sea, and the other discharges itself into a salt lake near Alexandria. It is probable, that the separation of these two streams is caused by some rocky mountain uniting this river, and splitting it into two channels. Leo Africanus adds great weight to the authority of the Nubian geographer, when he assures us, that the Nile flows through the region of the Nigritæ. The Abassines, according to Gregory, say, that the Niger separates from the Nile in the country of Dongola; that the greatest flow of water passes into Egypt; and that the other stream, descending towards the region of Elway, at last disembogues itself into the Atlantic ocean (G). The present Ethiopians

(G) It is observable, that the kings of Abassia are still persuaded, that the keys of the Nile are in their hands; and that they can, when they please, change its course, as the king Teklimanout intimated to the bashaw of Cairo towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incensed at the assassination of the sieur Du Roule, a Frenchman, at

Sennar, threatened the bashaw with his resentment, in case an immediate stop was not put to such flagrant violations of the law of nations. He told him, that he could make the Nile the instrument of his vengeance, since God, by placing in his hands the fountains, passage, and increase, of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (2).

(2) See the Sequel to Father Lobo's Voyage to Abassinia.

call their part of this river Abawi, though in the ancient Ethiopic language we find it styled Gejon or Gewon, probably by an early mistake from the Greek word *Γεων* *Geon*, or Hebrew *Gibon*, Gen. ii. 13. since some authors have imagined that river to be the Nile. The prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah give the river under consideration the name of Sihor or Sichor, i. e. *the Black River*, from the colour of its water, as the Greeks did that of Melas, and the Latins Melo, for the same reason. Dionysius Afer, and Stephanus Byzantinus say, that the Ethiopians denominated that part of this river running through their territories Siris, which is evidently the same as Sihor; but that, as soon as it reached Syene, it received the name of (H) Nile. Besides the

(H) To what has been said of the Nile, we shall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch Alphonso Mendez:

“The Nile (says he) receives several rivers, the most remarkable of which are the Baxilo or Bachilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagemeder or Bagemdra and Amhara; the Gulcem, which bounds the same kingdom of Amhara and Oleca; the Maleck and Auguer, which, having joined their streams, water the countries of Damot, Narea, Bizamo, the Gafates, and the Gongas. The Tacaza, called by the ancients Astaboras, hath three different sources near the mountains, which separate the two kingdoms of Angote or Angota and Bagemeder; it runs towards the west through the desert of Oldeba; then, entering Dambar, falls into a large bed of sands; and afterwards, having crossed part of the kingdom of Decau, discharges itself into the Nile. It is said, that, besides crocodiles and river-horses, there are in this river abundance of torpedoes, which immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. The Mareb, rising two leagues

from Debaroa, falls, after a long course, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and sinks under-ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, and by the monastery of Alleluja, and then loses itself. The army, when they invaded these regions, dug into the sand, and found under-ground both good water, and excellent fish.” To which we shall beg leave to subjoin a short description of the course of the Nile, as delivered to us by the best modern geographers since the time of Gregory and Ludolfus. It rises in the kingdom of Gojam, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of Dambea or Tanza. Afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of Bagemeder, or, as Gregory calls it, Bagemdra. Then, still running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of Amhara. From whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of Oleca, between which and Amhara it receives a considerable river, as it did before the Bachilo on the confines of Amhara and Bagemdra. From the kingdom of Oleca it moves to that of Choa in the same direction, and from thence

the Nile, the ancient geographers mention two other rivers, called Astaboras and Astaphus, meeting near the island or peninsula of Meroe, and joining the Nile soon after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the Nile (the first deducing its streams from the lake Coloe in the district of Amaza, and the other from some fountains between the mounts Garbata and Elephas, not far from the Aualitic Gulph), we must submit it to our readers, whether the present Tacaza and Mareb, considering the situation and direction assigned them by the modern geographers, do not entirely correspond with them. Pliny, Heliodorus, and Strabo, mention a third considerable river falling into the Nile, whose name they do not entirely agree in: but as it has been omitted by several of the ancient geographers, and especially by Ptolemy, who had the best means of informing himself with respect to the truth of every particular relating to it, we shall supersede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to say of the rivers of Ethiopia ².

*Lakes, pro-
montories,
ports, &c.*

We find no remarkable fountains and lakes in Ethiopia, besides the sources of the rivers above mentioned, except the lake of Pfeboa above Meroe, that of Tzana being, as far as we can collect from the old geographers, unknown to the ancients. The principal promontories were, Basium, Mnemium, Aspis, Saturni promontorium, Mosylou, Dire, Zengisa, Noti Cornu, Prasum, and Raptum, the last of which was inhabited by cannibals or anthropophagi: but

² Greg. Abass. apud Ludolf. & ipse Ludolf. in Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 8. Mel. lib. i. cap. 9. & alib. Strabo, lib. xvii. & alib. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 34. & alib. Diod. Sic. lib. i. Plin. lib. v. cap. 9. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. Leo African. lib. i. cap. 7. PP. Pays & Tellez. apud Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 8.

thence by Debra through Galla, and the kingdom of the Cafates, to that of Gonga. Afterwards it visits the country of the Changalas, N. E. of Gonga. From thence, in a northern direction, it flows to the city and kingdom of Sennar. And then to Corte or Corti in Nubia, through the desert of Bahiouda N. E. of Sennar. Between Sennar and Corti it passes by Barbar, near which is a cataract N. E. of the former place, from whence

it turns to the west and reaches Corte. Kanise west of Corte next receives a visit from it, and then Dongola north of Kanise. Continuing its course N. E. it arrives at the Greater Cataract, and afterwards takes its leave of Nubia, near the Lesser Cataract. Lastly, having traversed Egypt in a northern direction, it discharges itself by several mouths into the Mediterranean (3).

(3) Alphonf. Mendez. apud Le Grand, Dissert. iii.

the three last capes seem rather to have belonged to the Cafres or African Barbarians, than the Proper Ethiopians. The chief ports and empories of Ethiopia were those of Adulis, Mondus, Opone, Mosylon, and the principal city of the Aualitæ, seated upon the Red Sea. The Arabs imported from their country into those parts fruit, corn, wine, and cloaths, and exported from thence to Ocelis and Mufa, opposite harbours in Arabia, spices, cassia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and several other commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortrefs of Sabid, probably the Sabat of Ptolemy, now in a ruinous condition. The most noted islands appertaining to Ethiopia were Mcroe, if that should not rather be considered as a peninsula, the Sporades of Agatharchides, Astratæ, Ara Palladis, Gythitis, Myronis, Daphnine, Magi, Acanthine, Isis, Mondus, and Menu-thias (K). Mcroe contained a large tract, together with a very considerable city, its metropolis, of the same name. Josephus informs us, that its original denomination was Saba; but that Cambyfes, from his sister's name, afterwards called it Meroe; which seems to be confirmed by Strabo, though it does not appear from Herodotus, that this prince penetrated so far into Ethiopia. Timosthenes, Ptolemy Philadelphus's admiral, related, that the city of Meroe was sixty days journey from Syene. Eratosthenes made this distance six hundred and twenty-five miles; Hipparchus in Strabo five thousand stadia, which agrees with Eratosthenes; Artemidorus six hundred miles; and Sebofus computed sixteen hundred miles from the farthest or most northern part of Egypt to this famous city: but according to Pliny, the road between Meroe and Syene was discovered in the reign of Nero to be eight hundred and seventy-four Roman miles long. The Numidian geographer does not differ greatly from some of these computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traversing Nubia, or that vast tract lying betwixt the confines of Egypt and Abassia. We find, that when Ethiopia was in its most flourishing state, the city of Meroe made a prodigious figure, inasmuch that, if some of the ancients may be credited, it could send into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and contained four hundred thousand artificers, though in Pliny's time it was but a small

(K) To which we may add by the Ethiopians, just as success attended their respective Pseboæ, sometimes occupied by arms, according to Strabo (1). the Libyans, and at other times

(1) Strab. lib. xvii.

town. Several queens of this part of Ethiopia, called Candace, that having for a considerable number of years been a sort of surname to them, made this the place of their residence. Strabo places it ten thousand stadia from Alexandria, and the capital of Ethiopia. As the other islands are in a manner obscure, they merit no attention; only it may be proper to observe, that Hardouin, Bochart, and Salmasius, believe Madagascar to be the ancient Menuthias, though Isaac Vossius imagines it to have been the same with that island which the moderns call Zanzibar. How far either of these notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to determine^a.

Curiosities. The principal curiosities of this country are: 1. The rocks called Amba-Dorho, or the Rock of the Hen above mentioned. 2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by Pliny, with which the provinces of Damot and Enarea are said to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold mines some parts of it are so famous for. 4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of Tigre and Angota, called the Land of Salt. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, and said to be endued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral stibium, called in the Ethiopic tongue cachel or cohol, which is produced in several provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the history of Abyssinia^b.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Customs, Arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

*Antiquity
of the E-
thiopians.*

IT appears from what has been observed in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of Cush to one particular country. They sometimes

^a Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 29. Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 73. & lib. vi. cap. 29. 30. Joseph Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. lib. v. ubi sup. Ptol. Arrian. Marcian. Steph. Byzant. ubi supra. Salmas. in Solin. p. 878. Bochart. Chan. lib. i. cap. 37. Athan. Kirch. In Oedip. Ægypt. Synt. i. cap. 7. p. 57. Ludolf. ubi supra, cap. 8. ^b Strab. lib. xvii. Plin. apud Ludolf. ut & ipse Ludolf. lib. i. cap. 6, 7.

understood by it that region watered by the Araxes, which was the seat of the ancient Scythians or Cuthites; and sometimes that country bordering on the Red Sea, contiguous to Egypt. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the Arabs, or at least the greatest part of that peninsula. Cush, the eldest son of Ham was, in all probability, the great progenitor of the Ethiopians.

Many authors are agreed, that some of the early descendants of Cush first settled in the land bordering on the eastern side of the Red Sea, moving gradually from thence to the southern extremity of Arabia; and afterwards, by means of the easy passage over the streights of Bab-al-Mandab, transplanted themselves into Ethiopia. According to Eusebius, this migration happened whilst the Israelites were in Egypt; but Syncellus places it in the time of the Judges. The Arabian Cushites were anciently called Abaseni, and made up a great part of the Sabæans or Homerites, as may be adduced from several authors. The Ethiopians went under the same name, agreed in many points with the Arabian Cushites, and were believed by most of the Asiatic nations in Josephus's time to have had the same origin. Diodorus Siculus, it must be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign customs; though he asserts, that in several things they corresponded with the Egyptians. Notwithstanding what is advanced by that historian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already suggested, that part of Cush's posterity moved gradually along the western shore of the Red Sea into Ethiopia, which by this migration was tolerably well peopled, when the Arabian Cushites first found their way into it. The great difference of at least a considerable body of the Abasines from the Arabs, as well as other nations, the situation of the kingdom of Midian, where some of the earliest Cushites probably fixed themselves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both sacred and profane, tend to evince the justness of such a conclusion. The Ethiopians, therefore, might very well vie with the Egyptians, and even be deemed superior to them, in point of antiquity, since Cush their great ancestor was the eldest son of Ham. They might likewise have been esteemed of equal antiquity with the Arabians, as from the kingdom of Midian the Cushites penetrated both into the southern parts of the peninsula of the Arabs and Ethiopia. The communication between Egypt and Ethiopia, as well as the proximity of blood of Cush and Mizraim, introduced that similitude of manners observable amongst

*A body of
Arabs,
crossing the
streights of
Bab-al-
Mandab,
passed into
Ethiopia.*

amongst their respective inhabitants, which we shall soon have occasion to take notice of ^c.

Government of the Ethiopians.

Pliny relates, that Ethiopia was anciently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he insinuates that of Meroe to have been the most powerful and flourishing; but whether these were independent of each other, or under one supreme head, he no where informs us. Be that as it may, as all the old Oriental governments were absolute, and the Abassine princes known to the Europeans since their first intercourse with Abassia have been despotic, there is no reason to doubt but that the kings of Ethiopia always ruled with an uncontrollable sway. If we admit the Ethiopian tradition, that a long succession of princes descended from Solomon reigned in this country, it can scarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the Hebrew monarch knew no bounds. It appears from Strabo and Pliny, that some Ethiopic nations were governed always by queens, whose common name was Candace, as that of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, and Ptolemy. Diodorus Siculus gives us to understand, that a great part of Ethiopia was composed of several elective monarchies, the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. The Greeks knew very little of the Ethiopians; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relative to them. Sesostris and Zerah must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the Proper Ethiopia was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, to effect the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seem to set this point beyond dispute ^d.

Laws.

* According to Diodorus Siculus, the laws of Ethiopia agreed in substance with those of Egypt. This conformity, continues the same author, the Ethiopians accounted for by asserting, that Egypt was first peopled by colonies that migrated out of their country. In order to convince that point, they maintained the land of Egypt to have been at first, for a considerable period, entirely covered with water, and afterwards raised gradually, so as to become habitable, by the fresh accession of mud which the Nile brought every year

^c Euseb. in Chron. Syncell. in Chronog. Uranius apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Ptol. lib. iv. Jos. Scalig. in Comput. Eccles. Æthiop. de Emend. Temp. lib. vii. Job. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 1. Le Grand, Dissert. ii. ^d Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. ii. cap. 3; 4. Diod. Sicul. Strab. Plin. ubi supra. Newt. Chron. of the Empire of Egypt.

out of Ethiopia. This notion is likewise confirmed by Herodotus, who affirms Egypt to be the gift of the Nile; and that the whole region, except the territory of Thebes, in the time of Menes, was one continued morass. However, he makes the Ethiopians to have been civilized by the Egyptians, and to have learned the customs and manners of that people so late as the reign of Psammiticus I. which, considering what has been already advanced, will not easily be admitted for fact. Yet some customs and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might possibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a detail of the particular laws, or political maxims that prevailed anciently in Ethiopia; but the following seem to have been the principal: 1. Several tribes of Ethiopians looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their priests. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of Ethiopia, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the established order of succession amongst some Ethiopic nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son (L), mounted the throne; and in case the female branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person amongst them for king. 4. It was esteemed a most enormous crime in any person capitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. Diodorus relates, that a criminal condemned to die, having once meditated a flight out of Ethiopia, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who

(L) We are informed by Plutarch, that a certain Ethiopian nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The same author, however, judiciously observes, that all the high posts were filled with men. Possibly the modern kingdom of Zendero, governed always by an elected monarch, who is said to resemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correspond with this nation. It is certain Dio-

dorus Siculus and Pliny style the animal now called a baboon, cynocephalus, from the resemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated cyon or dog by Plutarch was an ape or baboon; especially since the cynocephalus was produced only in Ethiopia. However, this we can only propose to our readers as a conjecture (1).

(1) Plutarch. advers. Stoic. Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 34. Fernand. & Tellez. apud Joh. Ludolf. in Hist. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 6.

thereupon strangled him with a garter, he not offering the least resistance, lest an indelible stain should thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch himself (M), whenever he received a message from the priests of Meroe, the most revered of any in Ethiopia, with an intimation that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects, to die. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domestics were obliged to wound and maim themselves just in the same manner. 7. At the king's death all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indispensable custom, killed themselves, this being looked upon as the strongest testimony of their sincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the Ethiopic tribes above Meroe on both sides the Nile, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninsula, and the parts of Ethiopia near Egypt, elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them. Others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons they could find, imagining them the most capable of administering with their riches to the wants and exigencies of the public.

Religion.

Jupiter Ammon, according to the Greek and Latin authors, appears to have been the principal object of religious worship in Ethiopia, though the natives (N) paid likewise divine honours to Isis, Pan, Hercules, Æsculapius, and others, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to mankind. In fine, if these authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the Egyptians.

* Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 5. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud. Phot. Nic. Damascen. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 518, 519.

(M) This enormous power the priests enjoyed till the time of Ergamenes, king of Ethiopia, contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of Æsculapius, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After this he made several regulations, and in a great measure new-modelled the public worship of the Ethiopians, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus.

(N) Diodorus Siculus tells

us, that the Ethiopians valued themselves upon their being the first nation that had a religious establishment. They believed, that for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues Diodorus, Homer himself seems to adopt, when he introduces Jupiter, attended by the other gods, as present at an anniversary sacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the Ethiopians.

Dio-

Diodorus, however, assures us that some of them were atheists, who looked upon the sun, on account of his scorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern Abassines, the Ethiopians, or at least a considerable part of them, adhered zealously to the law of Moses from the time of Solomon to their conversion to Christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of Sheba, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the south, and who ruled over a powerful nation of Ethiopia, had a son by Solomon named Menilehec, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed in the law of God, through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of Ethiopia, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, at the desire of several eminent Israelites, and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced his father's religion, which continued amongst his subjects and their posterity till the time of St. Athanasius. What credit is to be given to this tradition, we shall not pretend to determine; since the learned are much divided in their sentiments concerning the situation of the kingdom of Sheba, whose queen had an interview with Solomon at his own court. St. Cyprian, Epiphanius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Cardinal Baronius, Suarez, Lorinus, Pineda, Bochart, and the Arabs in general, fix their residence in Arabia Felix. The last call her Belkis, and affirm her to have been the daughter of Hod-Had, king of the Homerites. On the other hand, the Abassine nation, Josephus, Origen, St. Austin, the learned Hugo Grotius, the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, the fathers Balthazar Tellez, and Joan Dos-Santos, have placed this celebrated princess in Ethiopia. We have not room to insert here the arguments offered on both sides in defence of their respective opinions, but shall only observe, that the kingdom of Abassia seems to correspond better with the queen of Sheba's country, according to our Saviour's description of it, as being more to the south of, and remote from, Judæa, than Arabia. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that some persons of distinction amongst the Proper Ethiopians were of the same religion with the Jews, or nearly so, in the apostolical age. For queen Candace's treasurer, baptized by Philip, went with an offering to Jerusalem, to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the Old Testament; which cannot, we apprehend, be said with so much propriety of the Arabians. This circumstance seems to us in some degree a proof, that the Mosaic law was held to be of divine institution in Meroe, and the other parts of Ethiopia dependent on it, even before the birth of our Saviour,

if not as early as the age of Solomon; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers who have asserted, that the queen of Sheba came from Ethiopia. However, it must be owned, that Strabo suggests the people of Meroe in his time to have adored Hercules, Pan, and Isis, with another foreign god. He likewise informs us, that the Ethiopians ranked in the number of their deities all their most eminent benefactors, and those who were distinguished by their birth. The Sun, according to him, the people under consideration in the most early times so highly adored, that they reputed those to be atheists who cursed him at his rising, as some such there were inhabiting the torrid zone; because he forced them to shelter themselves from his intense heat in moist and marshy places: for this reason the Greeks and Romans gave the Sun the name of the Ethiopian Jupiter. The Ethiopians themselves called him Affabin or Affabinus, as we learn from Pliny. They likewise consecrated to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous shrub, which grew in their country. The priests only were allowed to gather that harvest, which they always ushered in with sacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and sheep, beginning the work that followed before sunrise, and finishing it before his setting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a spear, which was never used but on that occasion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the same spot that which fell to the Sun; and forthwith, say Pliny, Solinus, and Theophrastus, if the division had been distributed with equity, the sun's portion took fire of itself, and was consumed. This ceremony seems to have been common to the Ethiopians above Egypt, and the Sabæans seated in Arabia Felix. Banier is of opinion that the Ethiopians had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the Egyptians; that they worshipped the moon under the name of Isis, and universal nature under that of Pan. They also paid divine honours to their deceased kings as did those nations together with the Mauritians. Among the persons deified by this people were the famous Juba and Ventotina, which last was probably either one of their queens, or some other woman of the first distinction rendered illustrious by her glorious actions. The Ethiopians of Meroe, according to Herodotus, in his time, worshipped Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter. Some Ethiopian nations offered sacrifices to the Day, which they esteemed as a god, according to Lucian. An ancient tradition prevails amongst the Abassines, that the first Ethiopians adored a monstrous serpent called in their language Arwe-midre; but this fa-

yours so much of the fabulous, that our readers will probably think it deserves little credit ^f.

In a country of so vast an extent as Ethiopia, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to suppose, that no small variety of languages, at least of dialects, must have prevailed. The most ancient of these was undoubtedly that called by the learned the Ethiopic, into which the Scripture was formerly translated, and in which all the books of the Abassines, both sacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly resembles the Chaldee; but, according to Ludolfus, who passed above sixty years in the study of it, it bears as great an affinity to the Hebrew and Syriac, and approaches nearer still to the Arabic, from which to him it appears immediately to be derived. In short, there is so perfect an agreement between them, that whoever understands the one, may, without any difficulty, make himself master of the other. He also asserts, that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, or any other of the Oriental tongues, will enable a student soon to make a very rapid progress in the Ethiopic. As several Hebrew roots, and genuine significations of Hebrew words, are still preserved in the Ethiopic, which would be sought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the esteem of all who would diligently apply themselves to the study of the Scriptures. Besides, it is impossible to attain a thorough knowledge of the Abassine affairs, this being the language in which all their histories, and other treatises, are written, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The purest dialect of this tongue was that used in the kingdom of Tigre, which was the place of residence of Axuma and the old Ethiopian kings. Here it continued till the failure of the Zagean line; after which, a Sewan prince ascending the throne, the Amharic dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffused itself over the whole empire. However, the language spoken in Tigre at present approaches the nearest to the old Ethiopic; which still retains its pristine dignity not only in their books, but also in their divine worship, as also in their kings letters patents, commissions, and all other public acts. Besides, father Tellez informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as

Language.

^f Herodot. lib. ii. Strab. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Plin. lib. xii. cap. 19. Solin. cap. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. Greg. Abass. apud. Ludolf. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 2. Banier, lib. vi. cap. 9. Joseph. Orig. August. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron. Suarez. Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolf. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 3. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 59.

kingdoms, or large provinces, in Abassia; and that there were different dialects in one and the same kingdom. As the language of Tigre is at present deeply tinged with the ancient Ethiopic, so those of most of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the Amharic; though they considerably differ one from another. The people of Bagemdra or Bagemedder use a dialect peculiar to themselves. Those of Hangota, Ifata, Gojam, and Shewa, have one common to them all. The Gafatas have many Amharic words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be understood by any of the other Abassines. In the kingdom of Dambea a language is spoken very different from both the Amharic and Ethiopic. The dialect of Gonga agrees with that of Enareta, though it does not bear a near resemblance to any of the others in Ethiopia.

Letters.

As it will be expected, that we should say something of the letters, or alphabetic characters, of this nation, our readers will not be displeased to find here the ancient Ethiopic alphabet, as given by the learned Job Ludolfus, in his history of Ethiopia.

አ: Alf.	ፈ: Lawi.
በ: Bet.	፡ Mai.
ገ: Geml.	ኔ: Nahas.
ደ: Dent.	ሀ: Saat.
ሀ: Haut.	ሀ: Ain.
ወ: Waw.	ረ: Af.
ዘ: Zai.	ጸ: Tzadai.
ኘ: Hbarm.	ቀ: Kof.
ሠ: Tait.	ረ: Rees.
ዖ: Jaman.	ሠ: Saw.
ሰ: Caf.	ተ: Tawi.

From comparing these letters with the old Oriental alphabets, taken from antique coins and inscriptions by Lœfcher, and consulting what we have already observed in our ac-

† Mariani Victorii Institutiones Linguae Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. Institut. Grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. Psalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in Introd. ad Lect. Linguar. Oriental. Job. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 15. ut & Balthaz. Tellez. apud Ludolf. ibid.

count of the Carthaginian, it may perhaps not seem improbable, that some of them were derived from the old Assyrian, Phœnician, Samaritan, and Syriac characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to establish the same supposition; though Ludolfus believes these characters to have been invented by the Axumites or Ethiopians themselves, and to be much older than even the Cufic character of the Arabs. It is remarkable, that the Abassines have no grammar; and that, when Gregory was taught the use of one, he could not forbear returning thanks to God, as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the Ethiopians both wrote and read from the left-hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the Orientals; a circumstance which indicates, that their alphabet was not entirely of the same extraction with that of the Arabs ^h.

The Ethiopians agreed in several points with the Egyptians, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not room to expatiate upon every custom to be found in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The Egyptian Ichthyophagi differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the Red-sea with stones, they inclosed vast numbers of fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, congers, and monstrous lobsters, with which that sea abounded, killing them with sharp goats-horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. This they boiled up with the seeds of paliurus. The mass formed by these two ingredients was at first liquid, and of a reddish colour; but, being spread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the sun, it became hard and savoury. This they commonly fed upon; but, when any inundations happened, so that they could not, for several days together, approach the shore, they were constrained to eat shell-fish, some of which were so large, that they weighed four minas. If these at any time failed, they found themselves com-

^h Job. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. iv. cap. 2. Gram Æthjop. ed. Lond. 1661. & Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 34, 555, 556, 562, & alib. pass.

pelled to have recourse to the bones, though destined for another use, which preserved them till the sea sent their usual supplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in such immoderate quantities, that they were scarce able to breathe. They seemed not to utter any articulate sounds, and consequently to be void of language. Some of them, according to Agatharchides, never drank at all, living only upon raw fish. These, continues the same author, might have been deemed real Stoics, as being never ruffled or discomposed by the violence of any prevailing passion. However barbarous their neighbours might esteem them, they had the art of teaching the phocæ or sea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to assist them in catching other fish. Several tribes lived in such caves as we have described in the former section; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a chestnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a sort of canopy. This, together with the pleasant breezes coming from off the sea, sheltered them from the scorching rays of the sun. Lastly, others fixed their habitations in inaccessible hollows surrounded with high precipices and the sea. The Ichthyophagi generally enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health; but few of them attained to old age. They carried their dead to the sea-shore, where they lay exposed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; so that, as they fed upon fish in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded those animals a repast. 2. The Chelonophagi already mentioned not only used the flesh of tortoises for food, but likewise covered their huts or cottages with the shells of those animals. As both in size and figure these shells resembled a small fishing-vessel, the Chelonophagi employed them as boats, on some occasions. They had a particular manner of surprising this fish, which we find described from Agatharchides by Diodorus Siculus. 3. Another Ethiopic canton lived upon fish of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the shore by chance. When they were pressed by famine, they devoured the bones of those creatures, whose flesh at other times sustained them. 4. The Ethiopian Rhizophagi, after they had washed the roots of the canes growing in marshy ground, bruised them, and preparing them by the heat of the sun, fared deliciously upon them. This canton was greatly infested with lions, which issued from the deserts in vast numbers, and would have depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous size annually expelled them. At the same time the Rhizophagi, in order to avoid these gnats, retired

retired towards the morasses. The Hylophagi were people of such surprizing activity, that they skipped from one tree to another, like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young shoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarreled about their respective habitations. On these occasions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the Libyans, which sometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of Ethiopians, watching an opportunity, killed leopards and buffaloes, with clubs burnt at one end, stones, and darts, in the manner described by Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not suffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another Ethiopic nation had two very particular ways of taming elephants, for a full description of which our readers must have recourse to the authors last mentioned. 8. The Struthophagi had several arts and devices to take ostriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itself against them with stones, which it threw with its sect to a great distance. The Struthophagi of the skins of these ostriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The Acridophagi had a deep valley in their country, many furlongs in extent, which they strewed with wood, and other combustible materials; and, when the south wind drove vast numbers of locusts thither, set them on fire, the smoke suffocating all those animals. Such infinite numbers of locusts were destroyed on these occasions, that the ground for some leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people preserved with salt, produced most plentifully in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholesome food; for the Acridophagi did not exceed the age of forty years, and at last died in a miserable manner. They were devoured by winged insects of different species, of a strange and hideous form, expiring for the most part in exquisite torture. Possibly the air itself, as well as the locusts, might have greatly contributed to so uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The Cynamolgi, seated in the southern parts of Ethiopia, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt Indian oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongst them. 11. The nations placed still more to the south, according to Agatharchides and Diodorus, lived the life of savages, if not that of the worst of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the Cafres were not unknown to the ancients, and consequently that they had seen more of the southern parts of Africa than the moderns imagine. 12. The above mentioned authors inform us, that the greatest part of
of

of the Troglodytes in their manner of life nearly resembled the Libyan Nomades, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of these were under one supreme head. 13. The Troglodytes, during the time of the Etesian winds, drank a liquor composed of blood and milk boiled together. In the summer months they lived about the morasses with their flocks, where they frequently sought for convenient pastures. The old and infirm cattle always supplied them with food, for which reason they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giving those denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than the skins of beasts, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the highest veneration, insomuch that, in their most bloody contests, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themselves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they declined using this expedient, they might be strangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to desire life when a person was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one was seized with an incurable distemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispatch him. They carried their dead to the top of some hill, where they first covered them with stones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So devoid were they of compassion, that the ceremony of burying the deceased in this manner was one of their most celebrated diversions. In a word, like nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this globe, they lived in the most deplorable ignorance and brutality. 15. The Ethiopians made use of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and several other weapons (O), which they managed with great strength and dexterity. 16. Circumcision was a rite observed amongst them, as well as the Egyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of these nations first received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The Ethiopian soldiers tied their arrows round their heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads and temples, and the other projected like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of

(O) The Megabari, a canton of the Troglodytes, fought with clubs, and carried before them round shields made of raw ox-

hides. Many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 776.

iron, and dipped in poison, infomuch that all the wounds given by them were attended with immediate death. The bows from which they shot these arrows were four cubits long, and required so much strength to manage them, that no nation could use them but the Ethiopians. According to several authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or showers of these arrows. Many tribes of the people now under consideration, particularly the Blemmyes, were wonderfully skilful in these weapons, taking aim so well, and hitting the mark so exactly, that some of the ancients imagined every individual to have had four eyes. The Ethiopians retreated fighting in the same manner as the Parthians, discharging volleys of arrows with such dexterity and address, whilst they were retiring full-speed, that they terribly galled the enemy. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immense size. 19. The Macrobian or long-lived Ethiopians fed for the most part upon roasted flesh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of a hundred and twenty years. It is said, that this longevity was principally owing to their bathing in a rich and fragrant fountain, which rendered their bodies smooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfumed them with the odour of violets. 20. These Ethiopians looked upon brass as the most valuable of metals, and held gold in such little esteem, that they fettered their prisoners with golden chains. 21. Some Ethiopic cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and swore by their manes; and others threw them into the river, considering this as the best sort of burial. 22. Some of the Ethiopians had no regular meals, or stated times of eating, but always refreshed themselves when stimulated by hunger and thirst. 23. The Ethiopian anthropophagi lived upon human flesh, as we learn from Philostratus, Pliny, Solinus, and Ptolemy¹.

As the Ethiopians agreed with the Egyptians in most of their laws, their splendid funerals, the deification of their princes, the several colleges of priests, circumcision, and in most of their sacred and civil institutions, it is highly probable that the same arts, sciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed in both nations. *Arts, &c.*

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Herodot. lib. ii. iii. vii. & alib. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. lib. v. cap. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1343—1360. Strab. lib. xvii. & alib. Xenoph. *Anagore* lib. iii. Heliodor. *Æthiop.* lib. ix. & alib. Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 9. Scylax Caryand. p. 12. Ælian. de Animal. lib. vi. & lib. xiv. cap. 5. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 1. Joan. Tzetz. cap. i. lib. 8. 1220. Joan. Geom. hym. ii.

*Character
of the Ethi-
opians.*

The Ethiopians were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewise surpassed most other nations in beauty and size, to which a proportionable degree of strength was generally annexed. For which reason Herodotus intimates, that the Macrobii conferred the royal dignity upon the most beautiful, large, and strong person they could find amongst them. Both they and the Arabians had an invincible aversion to mice, as we learn from Plutarch. If the modern Abassines resemble their ancestors, they were well-shaped, of a generous disposition, and exceeding quick parts. According to various authors, the Proper ancient Ethiopians were, in general, perfectly black, as we find their posterity at this day, though some particular cantons were white, called by Pliny White Ethiopians. It is probable they were pleased with their natural colour, and preferred it to those of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the present Abassines, are terrified at the sight of an European, as much as our's are at that of a Negro; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions bordering upon that colour. Others relate, that in some provinces of Abassia the people are of an olive colour; that in general they are born white, with a spot upon their navel, which in a short time after their birth spreads over their whole body; and that, being transported into Europe, they become white at the second or third generation. Gregory, the Abassine, informed Ludolfus, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddish hue, but in a short time turned black. Their women are strong and lusty, and bring forth with little pain. When they are in labour they kneel down as the Hebrew women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of these particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the ancient Ethiopians, who, from what is observable in their posterity, appear to have been likewise very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greatest fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Lastly, from Herodotus, compared with the relations of some modern authors, it is not unlikely, that they died of old-age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the sword or were devoured by wild beasts, as Sallust has observed of the ancient Africans ^k.

^k Herodot. lib. iij. Diod. Sic. ubi sup. P. Balthazar Tellezius, & Greg. Abass apud Job. Ludolf. in Hist. Æthiop. lib. iij. cap. 14. ut & ipse Ludolf. ibid. If. Vossius de Orig. Nil. &c. P. Augustin. Calmet. Dict. Bibl. in voc. Æthiopia, &c.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Ethiopians, to the Usurpation of the Zagæan Family, which commenced about the Year of Christ 960.

NOT only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of Egypt to Libya Incognita, and the peninsula of Arabia, as well as a particular part of that peninsula contiguous to Egypt, but likewise Susiana, called by the Orientals Khuzestân, and the country watered by the Araxes, the seat of the ancient Scythians, sometimes went under the denomination of Cush amongst the Asiatic nations. Where Cush himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in Susiana or Khuzestân, others in Arabia Felix, and others in that district near the confines of Egypt, called in Scripture the Land of Midian or Madian. Possibly some of his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but it is probable that many of them advanced towards Arabia and Egypt, since the posterity of Elam, the son of Shem, peopled, in all likelihood, several of the provinces of Persia, and particularly Elymais, or Elam, contiguous to Susiana or Khuzestân. Be that as may, it is certain, the land of Midian went by the name of Cush before the age of Moses, when, it is natural to suppose, the country washed by the Araxes was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That many of the children of Cush should have migrated into Arabia, and especially that part of Yaman bordering upon the streights of Bal-al-Mandab, has a great appearance of truth; since such a situation seems to be commodious for throwing large numbers of Cushites into the Proper Ethiopia, as well as the inland parts of Africa. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers, it may be observed from various authors, that a great part of the Upper Egypt was possessed by the Cushites in the earlier ages; and the city of Cofs, Kûs, or Kâsh, situated upon the Nile in that country, took its name from Cush the father of the Ethiopians. The Arabs call Ethiopia not only Habash, from Habash the supposed son of Cush, but likewise Cush or Coush, in like manner as the Hebrews. The first kings of this country we have no account of, that deserves the least regard. It is probable that several princes reigned here at the same time,

Where the first kingdom of Cush was situated, uncertain.

before

before any of the great empires were formed, as in Egypt. Some of the modern Abassines pretend, that Arwe was the first king of Ethiopia; but they relate nothing memorable of him. This prince was assassinated by Augab, who afterwards ascended the throne, and was succeeded by Senabur, Gedur, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous history of Tzagaxus, and what we find on this subject in Jerom Vecchietti, not the least degree of credit is due to them. The present king of Ethiopia, or emperor of Abassia, is styled by his subjects *negus*, i. e. *king*; but as the governors of provinces are sometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *negusa nagust Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of Ethiopia*¹.

Moses conquers Ethiopia.

It may be inferred from some authors that the Ethiopians possessed Thebais before Moses' time, and consequently that they were a powerful nation from the remotest antiquity. According to these authors, they made an irruption into the Lower Egypt whilst Moses was in that country, and penetrated as far as Memphis. Having defeated the Egyptians in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate destruction. Whereupon the Egyptian gods being consulted; ordered their votaries to put an Hebrew at the head of their forces, and then march against the enemy. The king, in pursuance of this order, prevailed upon Moses to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. Moses, being vested with unlimited power to act as he should think proper for the good of his master's service, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the Nile, in conformity to their expectations, but to push through some interior provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, towards Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, he was obliged to have recourse to the following stratagem to preserve his men: he filled many chests or panniers, made of the Egyptian plant Papyrus, with vast numbers of the ibis, an Egyptian bird, that had a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with those animals, he let out his birds, which destroyed all they met with, and opened a passage for the Egyptian forces. Moses, therefore, without any difficulty, surprised the Ethiopians, gave them a

¹ Prol. Asæ tab. 5. Bochart. Phal. lib. ii. cap. 2. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 25. Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xii. cap. 13. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 80, &c. Num. cap. xii. 1. Calmet, in Art. Cosh & Ethiopia D'Herbel. Biblioth. Oriental. in voc. Habas. *Job. Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop. lib. ii. cap. 1, 2, &c.

total defeat, and at last shut them up in Meroe; but this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the Nile, the Astapus, and the Astaboras, which surrounded it in such a manner, that it was almost impossible for an army to approach it. However, Moses' good fortune interpoling, he found means to reduce the town. The king of Ethiopia's daughter observing from the walls Moses' bravery in repulsing several sallies of the besieged, and being charmed with his success, fell in love with him, and, by the assistance of some friends she could confide in, offered to deliver up the place, provided he would swear to marry her. This overture, continue the same authors, Moses complied with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married the princess. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and then putting most of them to the sword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, rased or dismantled all the places of strength, and consequently rendered the Ethiopians for a long time incapable of making head against the Egyptians, he returned with great glory. Cedrenus intimates, that this war lasted ten years^m.

The Abassines are firmly persuaded that the celebrated queen of Sheba, who had an interview with Solomon, reigned over the Proper Ethiopia. They have a history of her written at large, but interspersed with various fables. It imports that Makeda (for, according to them, that was her name), receiving an account from Tamerin, an Ethiopian merchant, of the surprising power and wisdom of Solomon, took a journey to Jerusalem, to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of magnificent presents. After she had been instructed at Jerusalem in the worship of the true God, she returned, and within the space of a year brought forth a son begotten by Solomon, who named him David; but he was called by his mother and her subjects Menlech, or Menilehech, that is, *another self*. He received his education at Solomon's court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and Israelites of distinction, and particularly Azariah, the son of Zadoc, the high-priest. By the assistance of these Hebrew attendants he established the religion professed by his father in Ethiopia, where it continued till that kingdom embraced Christianity. The Arabs and Abassines have given the princess above mentioned several names, as Makeda,

The Abassines believe their kings to be descended from Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

^m Eupolem. & Artapan. apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 4. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 10. Georg. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 43. ed. Paris. 1647.

Belkis, Balkis or Bulkis, Neghesta Azeb, i. e. Queen of the South, as we find her styled by our Saviour, and the Ethiopic version. The Abassines pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line from Mencelech; and even most of the noble families in Abassia at this time trace their respective pedigrees up to Solomonⁿ.

This tradition clogged with some absurdities, though not to be deemed intirely false.

That this tradition is clogged with many absurdities, will appear to any one who considers it with the least attention, though at the same time it must be allowed, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. Ethiopia is more to the south of Judæa than the territory or kingdom of Saba in Arabia Felix, consequently has a better claim than that country for the dominions of the princess whom our Saviour calls the queen of the South. Ethiopia is styled the remotest part of the habitable world by Herodotus and Strabo, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has said of the queen of Sheba, that "She came from the uttermost parts of the earth," than Arabia. Nor can it be deemed a sufficient reply to this argument, that Arabia Felix was the uttermost part of the earth in respect of Judæa, since it was bounded by the Red Sea: for that not only Egypt, but even Ethiopia, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the Jews, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indisputably clear. Lastly, from what has been suggested, it appears no improbable conjecture, that Judaism was not only known in a part at least of Ethiopia, but likewise nearly related to the established religion there, at the beginning of the apostolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be understood as pretending to determine the residence of the queen of the South; especially since so much may be said for Arabia, as well as the country we are now describing. After all, these two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since it is agreed, that Arabia and Ethiopia have anciently borne the same name. been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the Arabs and Ethiopians had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the Abaseni transplanted themselves from Arabia Felix into Ethiopia, as already observed; a circumstance which sufficiently proves the intercourse that formerly subsisted between the Cushites or Ethiopians of Asia and Africa^o.

ⁿ Ludolf. ubi supra, cap. 3. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. i. cap. 6. Goll. Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. sub voc. Balkis. Le Grand, Dissert. vii. Matt. xii. 42. ^o Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 114. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. Cosmas Ægyptius, in Christian. Opin. de Mund. lib. ii. p. 138, 139.

But whether our readers will fix the queen of Sheba in Arabia or Ethiopia, whether they will admit or reject the history of that princess and her son, given us by the Abassines, it seems clear from Scripture, that the Ethiopians were subject to Sefac, either in Solomon's time, or soon after his death: for that the Cushites, mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the Proper Ethiopians, appears from their being joined with the Lubim or Libyans, who likewise served in the army of that prince. This, it must be owned, is a strong proof, that Sesostris and Sefac were the same person, in conformity to what Josephus asserts, since we do not read in Scripture of any Egyptian but Sefac that was master of Ethiopia; and since Hierodotus positively asserts, that Sesostris alone, of all the Egyptian monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country: but farther, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of Egypt before Sefac, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find the ancients have related of Sesostris.

Ethiopia reduced by Sefac.

We have already observed, that Sefac subdued and reigned over Ethiopia. After his death a civil war broke out in Egypt, which Sir Isaac Newton believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians: but about ten years afterwards, continues the same author, the Ethiopians drowned Sefac's successor in the Nile, and seized upon Egypt. With that kingdom, Libya also fell into their hands; a circumstance which will enable us to account for the numerous host with which Zerah the Ethiopian advanced against Afa king of Judah. However, Afa overthrew that army, consisting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and dispersed it in such a manner, that Zerah could never afterwards rally his scattered forces. Upon which, the people of the Lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and, being sustained by a body of two hundred thousand Jewish or Canaanitish auxiliaries, forced Mempon or Amcnophis, king of that nation, to retire to Memphis. It is probable, that the Egyptians, under the conduct of their chief priest Uforthon, Uforchon, Ofarchor, or Ofarsiphus, followed their blow; since, after Memnon had turned the course of the Nile, built a bridge over that river, and fortified a pass, he retreated with great precipitation into Ethiopia. However, about thirteen years after this disgrace, he, and his young son Rameses, returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the Jews or Phœnicians out of the Lower Egypt; which action the Egyptian writers called the second expulsion of the shepherds.

History of Ethiopia, to the second expulsion of the shepherds.

herds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with Manetho °.

A deluge in Ethiopia.

We are told by Cedrenus, a writer of authority, that, about fifty years after Cecrops, the first king of Athens, began to reign, there happened a deluge in Ethiopia; but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he does not inform us. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were severely felt, since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As Cedrenus follows the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot even conjecture ^p.

Continued to the time of Sabacon.

From several historical facts, Sir Isaac renders it extremely probable that Menes, Memnon, and Amenophis, were the same person; that the Ethiopian prince, who went by these names, was the son of Zerah; and that he died in a very advanced age, about ninety years after the death of Solomon. According to the same writer, the city of Memphis, called in Scripture Moph and Noph, as likewise Menoph or Menuf by the Arabian historians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built, or first fortified it, to prevent Ofsarphus from entering Ethiopia. The Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Amenophis, according to the principles of the system we have at present in view. Some Greek authors relate, that he assisted king Priamus with a body of Ethiopian troops. After his decease, his son Ramesses ascended the throne of Ethiopia, and built the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. Mœris, his successor, adorned Memphis, and fixed his residence there, near two generations after the Trojan war. Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, were the three next kings, the last of which was succeeded by his sister Nitocris. Then came Asychis, in whose reign both Assyria and Ethiopia revolted from Egypt; which thereupon was again divided into several small kingdoms. Gnephaetus governed one of these, and resided at Memphis; but his son Bocchoris was slain by So or Sabacon the Ethiopian, who subdued Egypt. As all the principal achievements of these monarchs, transmitted to us by sacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the history of

° Newton, ubi supra. 2^d Chron. xiv. 8—15. Maneth. apud Joseph. contra Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. Herodot. lib. ii. & Æschyl. apud Newton in Chronol. p. 238. p Georg. Cedren. Hist. Compend, p. 83. Paris, 1647.

Egypt, we have passed them over here, in order to avoid repetition.

Sabacon, or So, as he is called in Scripture, soon after the reduction of Egypt, entered into an alliance with Hoshea king of Israel, which induced that prince to attempt shaking off the yoke of the Assyrians; but his efforts proving unsuccessful, a period was put to the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of Nabonassar. According to Herodotus, Sabacon, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquished Egypt, and retired into Ethiopia: but, according to Africanus, he reigned only eight years in Egypt, and died in the ninth year of Hezekiah, or twenty-ninth of Nabonassar. The former author likewise informs us that Sethon, whom some suppose to be the Sevechus of Manetho, his successor, advanced to Pelusium, with a powerful army, against Sennacherib king of Assyria, whom he was enabled to defeat by a great number of mice, which devoured the shield-straps and bow-strings of the Assyrians; and that, to perpetuate the memory of so surprising an event, the statue of Sethon, which he saw, had a mouse in its hand. As a mouse was the Egyptian and Ethiopian symbol of destruction, this seems to intimate, that he overthrew the Assyrians with great destruction. Sir Isaac Newton therefore believes, that Sethon, in conjunction with Tirhakah, either king of the Arabian Cushites, or a relation of Sethon, and his viceroy in the Proper Ethiopia, surprised and defeated Sennacherib betwixt Libnah and Pelusium, making as great a slaughter amongst his troops as if their bow-strings had been destroyed by mice. The Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and priesthood, to the time when Sethon ascended the throne of Egypt. The priests, during that period, as they pretended, had succeeded one another, without interruption, under the name of Piromis, an Egyptian word, signifying a *good and virtuous man*.

From this time to the seventy-eighth year of Nabonassar, we know little of the kingdom of Ethiopia, which was then subdued by Esar-Haddon king of Assyria. He committed many enormous cruelties both there and in Egypt; and governed both these countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of Nabonassar 81; but then the Ethiopians revolting from the Assyrians, asserted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy distinct from Egypt till the days of Cyrus, who, from Xenophon, seems to have been master

To the death of Sethon.

And from thence to the reign of Xerxes.

of Ethiopia. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the Persians, since we find his son Cambyfes engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. Herodotus says, that before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy composed of the Ichthyophagi, who understood the language of that nation, to the king of the Macrobi, or long-lived Ethiopians. The real intention of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the strength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents; but the Ethiopian was too acute not to penetrate the Persian monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the Ichthyophagi, that he was no stranger to their errand; and that, if Cambyfes entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor attempt to reduce to a state of servitude a people who had never injured him. "However, (added he) give him this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of invading the country of the Macrobian Ethiopians, when his subjects can thus easily draw it; and that, in the mean time, he ought to thank the gods, that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the ambassadors; after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, what it was, and how made? and being satisfied in both these particulars, he could not forbear observing, that the robe was a proper emblem and representation of the deceitful prince who wore it. All the other presents likewise, except the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the Ethiopians, which, he said, were far stronger, to the golden bracelets of the Persians. However, he owned, that the wine excelled any liquor produced in Ethiopia, and intimated that the Persians, short-lived as they were, owed most of their days to so noble a cordial. When he heard that a good part of their food was bread, he said, he was not at all surprised that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the Macrobian Ethiopians. What Herodotus relates of the table of the Sun in this country, favours so much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of history to record it. Cambyfes, being extremely incensed at the answer brought by the Ichthyophagi from the Ethiopian, in a transport of rage, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of provisions for the subsistence.

ence of his troops. This want at last introduced such a famine amongst them, that the soldiers were obliged to eat one another; so that, not being able to traverse the vast sandy deserts of Ethiopia, he found himself constrained to return, first to Thebes, and afterwards to Memphis, with the loss of a great part of his army; but, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable he would have met with a warm reception, since, by the accession of a large body of Egyptians in the reign of Psammitichus, the Ethiopians must have been very formidable; for we learn from Herodotus, that two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians, posted in different places by that prince, to guard the frontiers on the sides of Arabia, Assyria, Libya, and Ethiopia, not having been relieved within the space of three years, deserted to the king of Ethiopia, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands. He also informs us, that, in the Egyptian language, they were called *Aimack*, i. e. *those who stand on the left hand of the king*; as likewise, that they civilized the Ethiopians: but we cannot give credit to the last article, since, from this very historian himself, and Africanus, it appears, that the Ethiopians were masters of Egypt at least eighty years before the time of Psammitichus; and therefore might have learned every thing the Egyptians could teach them before, if they were not, from the earliest ages, in all particulars as wise as that people. Sir Isaac Newton insinuates, that Cambyfes conquered Ethiopia, as well as Egypt, about the year of Nabonassar 223 or 224; but this conquest, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from Herodotus, nor any other good author. Herodotus asserts, that Cambyfes reduced some of the provinces of Ethiopia contiguous to Egypt in the unfortunate expedition already mentioned; and that they, together with the Troglodytes, sent an annual present to the Persian monarch, consisting of two choenixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty elephants, teeth of the largest size: but though the Persians subdued not only these provinces, but likewise that part of Libya bordering upon the western confines of Egypt, and carried their arms as far as the city of Cyrene; yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vast tract, comprehending the kingdoms of Sennar, Abassia, and other countries, answering to the Proper Ethiopia of the ancients, we cannot help thinking very improbable.

¶ Isai. chap. xix. ver. 23. chap. xx. ver. 4. 5. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 13. Herod. & African. ubi sup. Xenoph. & Cyropæd. Herodot. lib. i. i. Newt. Chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

*Xerxes has
a body of
eastern and
western
Ethiopians,
Libyans,
&c in his
army.*

Amongst the various nations that composed the numerous army with which Xerxes invaded Greece, Herodotus ranks the Ethiopians. He mentions on this occasion two sorts of that people; the eastern, who had their abode in Asia, and were considered as Indians, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the western or African Ethiopians. The former carried the same arms as the Indians, wore the skins of horses heads for helmets, the ears and manes whereof served them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the skins of cranes for shields, and had long hair. The Africans were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was Masanges, the son of Aorizus, a person doubtless of great distinction amongst them. Nothing remarkable of Ethiopia occurs from this period to the dissolution of the Persian empire. However, it is probable that matters, with respect to them, all along remained in the same situation; that is to say, the Ethiopian provinces contiguous to Egypt were subject to the Persians, and the others in a state of independence, either so little known, or made so inconsiderable a figure, as not to deserve the attention of any celebrated historian †.

*Ptolemy
Euergetes
penetrates
into Ethio-
pia.*

It does not appear that Alexander the Great ever undertook an expedition against the Ethiopians, though, when he consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the first enquiries he made was after the sources of the Nile. Encamping afterwards at the head of the river Indus, he imagined it to be that of the Nile, and was overjoyed at his success: but Ptolemy Euergetes, one of his successors in Egypt, having a passionate desire, in common with some of the greatest men of antiquity, to discover the fountains of the Nile, with this view carried his arms into Ethiopia. The particulars of this enterprize we cannot find related in history, though that he penetrated to the farthest parts of this region, and subdued most, if not all, the powerful nations in it, appears from an inscription (P) preserved by Cosmas

† Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 69—71.

(P) Elefbaan, king of the Axumites or Ethiopians, ordered Asbas, governor of Adule, to send him a copy of this inscription. This happened about the beginning of Justin's reign, just before Elefbaan undertook the expedition against the Homerites, which will be

hereafter mentioned, and twenty-five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. Asbas employed Cosmas, and Menas, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at Raithus, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Rhaptus, possibly the Rauf of Cosmas, to take him an exact copy

Cosmas Ægyptius (Q), or, as some call him, Cosmas Indicopleustes, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the

copy of it; and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance," says he, into the western part of the city, facing the road to Axuma, stood a chair of white marble, consisting of a square base, a small thin column at each angle of this base, with a larger wreathed one in the middle, a seat or throne upon these, a back, and two sides. Behind this chair there was a large stone three cubits high, which had suffered considerable injury from time."

This stone, and the chair, contained a Greek inscription, part of which was to the following effect: "Ptolemy Euergetes penetrated to the farthest parts of Ethiopia. He subdued Gaza, Agame, Sigue, Ava, Tiamo or Tziamo, Gambela, Zingabene, Angabe, Tiama, Athagaos, Calaa, Semene, Lafine, Zaa, Gabala, Atalmo, Bega, the Tangaitæ, Anine, Metine, Sefea, Rauso, Solate, the territory of Rauso, and several other kingdoms. Amongst the nations he reduced were some inhabiting mountains always covered with a deep snow; and others seated upon ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling streams, and craggy precipices, which therefore seemed inaccessible. Having finally, after all these conquests, assembled his whole army at Adule, and sacrificed to Mars, Neptune, and Jupiter, for his great success, he dedicated this chair or throne to Mars." For a full account of

every thing relating to this inscription, published first by Leo Allatius, and afterwards by Berkelius, Spon, and Montfaucon, we must refer our readers to the learned Dr. Chishul (1).

(Q) Cosmas informs us, that from Alexandria to the Cataracts were thirty stations; from the Cataracts to Axuma thirty more; and from thence to the farthest part of Ethiopia producing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called Barbaria, fifty stations. Near Barbaria lay the country known by the name of Sasus, according to the same author, which was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in Ethiopia.

The Barbarians, says Cosmas, imported various sorts of sauces, frankincense, cassia, and other commodities, the produce of their territory, into the country of the Homerites, separated from them by the streights of Bab-al-Mandab. They supplied likewise the Persians and Indians with the same commodities. The sea beyond Barbaria our author calls the Zingian ocean, and intimates, that Sasus abounded with gold mines. Every other year the king of Axuma sent several persons of distinction to Agau, to traffic with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them. They brought with them cattle, salt, and iron, to barter for gold. Upon their arrival they fixed on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several

(1) Chishul. Antiq. Ascet. p. 73—88.

the emperor Justin I. It is probable, however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find little of consequence concerning any branch of the Proper Ethiopians in the writings of the ancients, till the days of Augustus *.

*Petronius
forces queen
Candace to
sue for
peace,
which is
granted
her by Au-
gustus.*

About the year of Rome 725, when Ælius Gallus had drawn most of the Roman forces out of Egypt, in order to invade Arabia, Candace, queen of Ethiopia, or rather of the kingdom of Meroë, made an irruption into the province of Thebais with a numerous army. According to Dio, Candace herself headed her troops in this expedition. At first she met with great success, ravaged all the country as she advanced, took Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, the Egyptian frontiers on the side of Ethiopia, without opposition, and made three Roman cohorts prisoners of war: but receiving intelligence that Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own

* Diod. Sicul. Arrian. Quint. Curt. aliq. de Reb. gest. Alexand. Cosm. Ægypt. Topograph. Christian. p. 140—143. Job. Ludo. f. Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. cap. 8. Le Grand. Differt. iii.

oxen, which they exposed, together with the salt and iron, to the view of the natives. Some of these approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called tancharas, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, salt, or iron, they chose to purchase, and then retired to a place at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the Axumite or Ethiopian, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being stran-

gers to each other's language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the Axumites commonly performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, on account of their cattle. They were obliged to travel armed, since gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the Nile were in this district, and as the rivers they found themselves obliged to pass were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains, continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the Nile (1).

(1) Cosm. Egypt. in Topograph. Christian. A. D. 545. Script. p. 140, et seq.

dominions. The Roman general pursued the Ethiopians to Pselcha, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to enquire the reason of the late hostilities, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of Augustus, carried off from the cities above mentioned: but Candace, not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, Petronius immediately attacked the Ethiopian army, consisting of thirty thousand men, though his troops scarce amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of Pselcha. As the Ethiopians were for the most part only armed with poles and hatchets, and entirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island in the Nile. Soon after this victory, Pselcha surrendered; and one of his detachments brought off the corps that had escaped to the island, in which were several of queen Candace's general officers. At Pselcha he reviewed his forces, and finding them in good condition, advanced to Premnis, a fortress of great strength, which he reduced. Flushed with this success, the Roman general marched to Napata, where Candace held her residence, which he took and destroyed; her son, however, found means to make his escape: the queen herself had retired to one of her castles at some distance from Napata, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herself not in a condition to oppose the Romans, she thought proper to propose terms of accommodation: but Petronius, on account of the excessive heats, and a want of provisions, soon finding himself obliged to return to Alexandria, the conferences were broken off. After the departure of Petronius, Candace besieged Premnis, where the Romans had left a garrison of four hundred men; but being soon forced to raise the siege, she dispatched ambassadors a second time to treat of a peace with the Roman general, who sent them with an escort to Augustus. That prince, whom they found at Samos, gave them a most gracious reception, and granted their mistress a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condescension is attributed to the rich presents those ministers carried with them. Pliny intimates, that the kingdom of Meroe had been governed by queens for several preceding generations, who all went under the name of Candace.

† Strab. lib. xvii. p. 82c. Dio, lib. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 29. Sextus Aurel. Vict. epit. de Vit. & Mor. Imperator. Romanor.

*History of
Ethiopia
continued
to the as-
cension of
our Savi-
our,*

Though Augustus restored all the towns taken by Petronius, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from Candace, yet the Romans now looked upon themselves as masters of Ethiopia. They complimented Augustus on the great glory he had acquired, in subduing a country unknown even to his great predecessor, a conquest which finished the reduction of Africa. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of Meroë, which was the Ethiopia known to the Romans, happened either during the remainder of Augustus's reign, or that of his successor Tiberius, queens still continuing to govern in that country, as we learn from Scripture: but that the Christian religion was introduced into Meroë about the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius's reign, has been believed by some writers of authority. These writers say, the eunuch baptized by Philip the deacon converted his royal mistress, after his return to the Christian faith. St. Luke calls that princess Candace; from whence some have inferred, that she was the same queen of Ethiopia mentioned by Pliny and Strabo; but as the interval betwixt the invasion of Ethiopia by Petronius, and the conversion of the eunuch, was a term much longer than kings usually reign, and as the former author remarks Candace to have been an appellation common to the sovereigns of Meroë, we are by no means inclinable to adopt that opinion ^u.

*and from
thence to
the reign of
Dioclesian.*

Little after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the Ethiopians. Ælius Spartianus relates, that the emperor Heliogabalus frequently confined his most intimate friends for whole nights together with little antiquated Ethiopian women, by way of diversion, saying that these females were the most beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that in his reign, about the year of Christ 220, there was an intercourse between the Roman empire and the Ethiopians. Probus, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition against the Blemmyes, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of Thebais, vanquished, and sent many of them prisoners to Rome. What occasioned this expedition, is not told us by any author; but that the Blemmyan captives graced Probus's triumph, and exhibited such a strange appearance as greatly astonished the Romans, we learn from Vopiscus. Towards the close of the third century, that nation and the Nobatæ, a people who inhabited the banks

^u Dio, ubi supra. Calmet. in voce Candace. Anastas. Sinait. lib. vi.

of the Nile near the Upper Egypt, committed great depredations upon the Roman territories, and the adjacent parts of Thebais; being probably on this account but thinly peopled, the emperor Dioclesian found his revenue in those parts scarce sufficient to maintain the garrisons placed there to repress the incursions of the Ethiopians. He therefore assigned the Nobatæ lands in the Roman dominions, and gave both them and the Blemmyes a considerable annual sum, to desist from their former practices: but, notwithstanding their solemn assurances to the contrary, they continued pillaging the Roman subjects to the time of Justinian, according to Procopius. That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from Dioclesian; for this emperor did not only grant them the favour above mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the Nile near Elephantine, gave them the use of the temples there in common with the Romans, and ordered priests to be selected from them to officiate, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them: but Justinian ordered Narfes, the commander of the garrison in Philæ, to demolish the temples of the Barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to Byzantium. That Dioclesian built the fortress of Philæ, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union which he imagined the measures he had taken would occasion between the Romans, Egyptians, and Ethiopians settled there, is advanced by Procopius: but we can by no means admit it; since this very fortress existed, and was called by the same name, in the days of Strabo. Procopius, in agreement with Cosmas Indicopleustes, asserts Elephantine was thirty days journey from Axuma, or as he calls it Auxomis. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of Dioclesian, the frontiers of the Roman empire on that side extended so far into Ethiopia, that they were not above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital *.

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the Ethiopians, by the Greek and Latin historians, from the reign of Dioclesian, to the time of their conversion to Christianity. The modern Abassines inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of Bazcn, a prince of the Solomonean line, and the twenty-fourth from Menilehec, surnamed El Hakim, i. e. *the Wise*, or *Son of the Wise*, above mentioned. They likewise enumerate thirteen

* Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab. Flavius Vopiscus in Prob. Procop. de Bell. Pers. lib. i. cap. 19. Strab. lib. xvii. Cosmas Ægyptius in Topograph. Christian. lib. ii. p. 138—140. edit. D. Bern. de Montfauc. Parisius, 1706.

kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years, between him and Abreha and Atzbeha, or Abra and Atba, who sat upon the throne when Frumentius carried the light of the gospel into Abassia. Frumentius, according to some, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. Matthew, who had applied himself to the conversion of the Nubians, a nation before disposed for the reception of Christianity by the eunuch of Candace, who had already sown in their minds the first seeds of that religion. These St. Matthew took care to cultivate, and raise to fruit, though he could not reach Abassia. The planting of the Christian faith in that country was reserved for the age of St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria; of which great event Rufinus and others have given us the following relation *.

*Ethiopians
or Abassines
converted
by Frumen-
tius.*

Meropius the philosopher, a native of Tyre, took a resolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the conversation of other philosophers, or for the sake of traffic, which was not thought inconsistent with the profession of philosophy. This man, after having wandered over all India, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels; and, touching at an island in the Red-Sea, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. Frumentius and Ædesius, or, as the Abassines have it, Fremontatus and Sidracus (for so were his kinsmen called), falling into the hands of the Barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his person, and advanced them in his service. Their talents and industry procured them such distinguishing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in Frumentius a greater capacity, he made him his treasurer, and Ædesius his butler; in which posts they behaved themselves with so much propriety and addresse, that, upon the king's death, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her son, would not grant either of them permission to leave the kingdom, as they desired. On the contrary, she left the management of public affairs entirely to Frumentius, who made use of this new authority to bring the people under his inspection to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Contracting an acquaintance with some Christian merchants, either trading to or settled in Abassia, who sometimes came to that island, he granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This occasion first excited in the Abassines a desire to be instructed in the principles of Christianity;

* Rufin. lib. i. cap. 9. Socrat. lib. i. cap. 19. Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 24. Theodoret. lib. i. cap. 23.

which induced Frumentius to take a journey to Alexandria, in order to inform St. Athanasius of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of Axuma, and about the year of our Lord 335, sent him to propagate the Christian religion in Ethiopia. Soon after his arrival, he baptized great numbers of the Abassines, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and, in short, gained an assent to the divine truths of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The Ethiopic book at Axuma, held in the highest veneration by the Abassines, agreeing in general with this relation, as well as several Greek and Latin authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest attention. That Adad or Aidog, therefore, king of the Axumites, first introduced Christianity into Ethiopia about the fifteenth year of the emperor Justinian, after an unparalleled defeat given the king of the Homerites, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and nobility, afterwards relapsed into Paganism, according to an Oriental author of some note; and embraced again the Christian religion, about the fourth year of the emperor Justin, A. D. 521. This step they were then commanded to take by Aidog, for the reason above assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be found in the extracts of several Syriac writers, to be met with in the learned M. Assémanus's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana* &c.

Abra and Asba, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the Ethiopian historians. The harmony that reigned between them was so singular and uncommon, that it almost became a proverb in Ethiopia. Constantius the emperor made use of many expedients to introduce Arianism into this country, but without effect. He sent ambassadors to those kings, in order to prevail upon them to put Frumentius the bishop of Axuma into the hands of George the Arian bishop of Alexandria, substituted in the place of Athanasius, who was forced to quit that see, and retire to a place of obscurity: but they refused to deliver up that prelate; adhered to his doctrines and venerated his person with an unshaken resolution, notwithstanding Philostorgius erroneously affirms an Arian bishop settled at

Abra and Asba refused to admit Arianism.

† *Iidem* *ibid.* Theophanes ad An. Incarnat. Secund. Alexandrin. 535. Simeon. Episc. Beth-Arsamen. apud Cl. Asséman. in *Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. p. 359 & seq. ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæs. Baronii *Annal.* ad An. 523. vol. vii. Ludolf. *Hist. Æthiop.* lib. iii. cap. 2. Vide & Not. Cl. Asséman. *ubi sup.*

Axuma. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongst them, that they called him Abba Salamah, *the Pacific Father*. The Copts and Abassines have a notion, that one Tacalhaïmanout, a faint or Abassine monk, descended from Sadok the high-priest in the days of David and Solomon, attended Abba Salamah into Ethiopia, to demonstrate to the people there the necessity of baptism, they having till that period practised circumcision. The twenty-fourth day of the month Mesri, corresponding with that of August in the Julian calendar, is celebrated as the festival of this faint by the Copts. The word Tacalhaïmanout is Ethiopic, and, according to M. D'Herbelot, signifies *the paradise of the Trinity*; but Ludolfus gives us to understand, that this Tacalhaïmanout, or, as he calls him, Tecla Haimanout, that is, according to the interpretation of those words, *the plant of faith*, retired to the monastic way of life in Ethiopia about the year of Christ 600, and lived till A. D. 630. The Abassines believe that he spoke in his cradle, and wrought several miracles in his infancy; as also that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by Cyril metropolitan of Ethiopia, contemporary with Benjamin, patriarch of Alexandria, of the Jacobite sect. Gonzales asserts, that he first converted the Ethiopians to Christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshipped amongst them; which fact, if admitted, will bring him to the age which M. D'Herbelot assigns him. Be that as it may, next to Gabra-Menfes-Keddus (L), i. e. *the servant of the Holy Ghost*, in honour of whom they kept holiday once every month, he was the most celebrated faint in Ethiopia. D'Herbelot farther informs us, that Claudius, king of the Abassines, sent the life of this faint, written in Ethiopic, to Gabriel, the ninety-fifth patriarch of Alexandria, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at Paris, number 796, under the title of Saïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout².

² Ludolf. ubi supra, cap. 33. & in Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 479. ut & in Calend. Æthiop. ibid. No. 51. p. 436. Le Grand, Dissert. ix. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in voc. Tacalhaïmanout, p. 834, 835. à Paris, 1697.

(L) Gabra-Menfes-Keddus still preserve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever-blessed Trinity and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (1).

(1) Poet. Abas. & Sandoval. apud Job. Ludolf. in Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 291, 292.

History scarce supplies us with any memoirs relative to Ethiopia, from the reign of Constantius to the time of the famous Elefba or Elefbaan, king of Ethiopia, called Caleb by the Abassines, who appears to have been the same prince with Adad or Aidog above mentioned. This conqueror being reconciled with Xenodon or Axenodon, an Indian prince, with whom, according to Simeon Beth-Arsamenfis, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the Homerites, or Sabæans, in Arabia Felix, after having vanquished in battle the impious Dunawas, Dunaan, or Dhu Nowas, the last king of that people, who was of the Jewish religion. Elefbaan had some time before declared war against the king of the Homerites, for massacring some Christian merchants, and vowed solemnly to become a Christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith of Christ, in pursuance of the vow already made, and placed a Christian prince upon the throne of the Homerites. After this prince's death, which happened in winter, when the Ethiopians could not transport a body of troops into Arabia, Dunaan found means to seize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent persecution of the Christians, against whom he exercised unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given by various authors. St. Aretas in particular, and many others, he ordered to be burnt in the city of Nagra. This cruelty induced the Alexandrian patriarch to invite, by letters, Elefbaan to carry his arms into Arabia, in defence of the Christians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the most exquisite tortures. Elefbaan embraced the opportunity, and was favoured by God with a complete victory (O), which gave the Abassines the possession of Arabia Felix till the time of Abd al Metalleb, grandfather of Mohammed. Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al Ashram was the governor of Yaman, under the king of Abassia, whose punishment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the Koran. He brought, says the author of that book, an army, with a great number of elephants, to the siege of Mecca; when a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, came upon him. Each of these birds had a stone in its beak, which it

The Ethiopians conquer the Homerites.

(O) This happened in the 525, and not, as Theophanes and Cedrenus seem to intimate, probably about the seventh or 522 or 523 (2). eighth year of it, A. C. 524 or

(2) Vide Not. Cl. Asseman. ad Sim. Episc. Beth-Arsamenf. in Bibl. Orient. p. 365.

dropped.

dropped with such violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through : nor did their vengeance end here ; they pursued the viceroy into his master's dominions, where one of these fowls let its stone fall upon his head, which killed him ^a.

That Artzham, king of Ethiopia embraced Mohammedanism, not probable.

The Mohammedan writers generally agree, that Atzham, or Ashamah Ebn Abhar, the Najāshi, or king of Ethiopia, during Mohammed's mission, did not only take under his protection a considerable number of Mohammed's friends, who were driven out of Hejaz by the Koreish, but likewise became a convert to the new religion of that impostor. This conversion, according to Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Baki, happened in the second year of the Hejra ; though it is placed ten years higher by Abulfeda and Al Jannabius. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly Selden and Colomesius : but the absurdities that abound in Abudo'l Bakides' narration, which, by a very able Oriental critic, seems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, and the absolute silence of the Ethiopians, as well as those authors who have written the histories of the patriarchs of Alexandria and the Saracens, on this head, will not permit us to espouse such an opinion. That Atzham, all his bishops, presbyters, and monks, should allow, that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that Mohammed was this prophet ; that the Abassine bishops and presbyters, by citing it to the Najāshi in favour of Mohammed, should admit for genuine a passage of the New Testament not to be found there ; and to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the fight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the Koran, they should all burst out into a flood of tears, and be in the forest affliction ; in short, that they should be converted to Moslemism by the gospel itself, are such glaring absurdities, as can only be adopted by a very bigotted Mahomedan. Besides, such a train of remarkable effects must have followed a king of Ethiopia's embracing Moslemism, that the above mentioned historians could not have omitted taking notice of it. And the Mohammedan writers themselves would undoubtedly have recorded many transactions, the necessary consequences of such an event, which we find they have not so much as hinted at, had their prophet converted the king of Ethiopia, even before the Arabs themselves. It is therefore to us matter of great surprize,

^a Niceph. Callist. & Cedren. apud Ludolf. ubi. sup. Al Koran Mohammed. cap. 105. & Le Grand, in Dissert. ix.

that the very learned M. Ludolfus should plunge himself into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of Abdo'l-Bakides and Abulfeda, with regard to the introduction of Moslemism into Ethiopia. The spirit with which the Koran was written, that is, a lying spirit; the genius of the Mohammedan writers, not only with the worst kind of enthusiasm and superstition, but likewise addicted to romance and fiction in points abstracted from religion; these, in conjunction with what has been just offered, greatly discredit the story: and they amount to little less than a demonstration, that it was invented by the Moslems, purely with a design to do honour to Mohammed and the Koran. For which reasons we shall make no scruple to reject it entirely, with father Maracci ^b.

Gebra-Meskel, successor to Elesbaan, according to the Ethiopian poet so often cited by Ludolfus, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominion; though we have no particulars of his conquests handed down to us. His subjects, however, enjoyed the sweets of peace a great part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by them. Procopius gives us to understand, that the emperor Justinian entered into an alliance with him; but what was the consequence we can no where trace. The same author also relates, that even in Gebra-Meskel's time the Axumites or Ethiopians were so little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they crossed the streights of Bal al Mandab in ill constructed vessels, consisting of nothing but planks or boards fastened together with ropes. This seems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for shipping, their maritime provinces affording them scarce any thing of this kind, and the Romans being prohibited, by a particular law, from transporting any naval stores into Ethiopia. Next to this pious king (for as such he is described by the Abassines), one Constantine ascended the throne, and after him Fresenna, whose name imports *good fruit*. During the (G) interval between the time of Fresenna

Their history, to the usurpation of the Zagæan family, extremely short.

^b Poet. Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. ii. cap. 4. ut & ipse Ludolf. ibid. Vide & Procop. de Bel. Persic. lib. i. cap. 9.

(G) We are told, that about A. D. 836, Ethiopia groaned under the complicated miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in sight of the enemy.

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The Abassines attributed these evils to the violence and indignities offered John the metropolitan sent them by James the fiftieth patriarch of Alexandria. A junto of the nobility had before caballed against this prelate,

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C H A P. LXXIX.

The History of the Arabs, and their ancient State, to Mohammed.

S E C T. I.

Description of Arabia.

Many au-
 thors have
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 give an
 accurate
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 of
 Arabia.

THE independence which most of the Arabs maintained to the downfall of the Roman empire, and the surprising conquests they made under Mohammed and his successors, rendered their country so famous, that it is no wonder many authors should have taken such pains to give an accurate description of it. Ptolemy seems to have laboured this point more than any other: Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, with many more of the ancients, in their accounts of Arabia, are likewise very prolix; but the Arab writers themselves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their historical and geographical relations; which would have met with a

c Abulfeda in Vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26. 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1713. Al-Koran Mohammed. cap. 19. cap. 29. & cap. 30. Job. Ludolf, in Comment. ad Hist. Æthiopic. p. 223. & p. 224. & alib.

late, and, after bringing others over to their party, drove him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above mentioned persuasion, he was recalled and re-established. But the queen, who at that time held the reins of government, gave raise to new persecutions against the Abuna, and

left him only the choice of being circumcised, or leaving the kingdom. John chose to undergo circumcision, and, being stripped in order to undergo the operation, had upon him, by a singular miracle, say the Copts and Abassines, evident tokens that he had been circumcised on the eighth day.

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PART
OF THE
MEDITER
RANEAN
SEA



The History of the Arabs.

more general esteem, had not the Arabians, so strongly tinged with enthusiasm and superstition, and consequently inclined to fable and romance, so evidently displayed itself through almost every part of those compositions^d.

Arabia, or at least the most considerable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives Arabah; which name it still retains. However, we find it frequently styled by their historians Gjazirah or Jezirat al Arab, the peninsula of the Arabs, Belad al Arab, the Region of the Arabs, Diyar al Arab, the Provinces of the Arabs; and, by many of the Orientals, Arabistân. Amongst some of the Syriac writers it seems to have gone under the appellation of Cushtah, and sometimes in Scripture that of Cush, as we have already observed in the history of the Ethiopians. 'Al Motarezzi, in the book Mogreb, derives the name Arabah from Arbah, a district of Tehama, where Ishmael dwelt, or, according to Saffoddin, a town in the neighbourhood of Mecca; and 'Eben Saïd 'Al Magrebî, in 'Abu'l-Fedah, from Ya'rab, the son of Kahtân or Joktan, and grandson of Eber. But those seem to lay the greatest claim to truth who deduce it from an Hebrew original; the word *areb* or *ereb* having several significations very favourable to such a conjecture; for it imports, *the west*, *a mixture*, and *merchandise or traffick*. Moses himself styles the western Arabia Arabah; which in a great degree evinces that, from its situation, it first derived that name. Afterwards the Ishmaelites, who were possessed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word Arabah along with them, and applied it to the whole peninsula.

Arabia, taken in its largest extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the Red Sea, about 1 degree 25 minutes S. of the tropic of Cancer to the extremity of cape Ras al Ghat, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of 'Al-Jazira to the streights of Bab al Mandab, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by Palestine, part of Syria, the isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, called by the Arabs the Sea 'Al-Kolzom; on the East

*Whence
Arabia is
called*

*The largest
extent of
Arabia.*

^d Ptol. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. lib. i. lib. xvi. & alib. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27, & alibi. Abulfed. Descript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vide etiam Steph. Byzant. in voce Χαρχαυα, & Hudf. in Prefat. ad vol. iii. Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. Oxon. 1712.

by the Euphrates, the Persian gulph, and bay of Ormus; on the north by part of Syria, Diyar-Becr, Irak, and Khuzeistan; and on the south by the streights of Bab al Mandab, and the Indian ocean. It becomes narrower as we approach the frontiers of Syria and Diyar-Becr; and, by reason of the proximity of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, may be considered as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world.

Its proper limits.

But the limits of the Proper Arabia are much more circumscribed, as reaching no farther northward than the isthmus, running from Ailah to the head of the Persian gulph, and the borders of the territory of Cûfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. Here the Arabs have been settled almost ever since the flood. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria; and Arabia Deserta they call the deserts of Syria: but as the Arabs have for many ages reduced these two provinces or kingdoms, either by settlements, or continual incursions, the Turks and Persians at this day include them in Arabistân. The ancients in the like manner assigned different limits to this vast peninsula. Pliny extended it as far as the borders of Commagene, the northern part of Syria, on account of the many Arabian colonies established there by Tigranes; and Xenophon included in it the greatest part of Mesopotamia: but Ptolemy, who gives us a more accurate description of Arabia, determines its dimensions differently from those authors. According to him, the city of Phara, between the Elanitic and Heroopolitan gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the westward of this city near the district of Heroopolis, was its boundary on the side of Egypt. On the west it was terminated by Palestine, part of Syria, the confines of Egypt, and the Arabian gulph; on the north by the Euphrates, from the city of Thapsacus, near the borders of Palmyrene, to the district of Idicara in Babylonia; on the east by the Chaldean mountains, and the Persian gulph; and on the south by the Erythræan sea. The same situation and extent, or nearly so, are assigned it by Diodorus and Strabo. Conformable to the sentiment of the Arabs, this region may be deemed a peninsula, whether we consider it as answering to the name of Arabia in its most usual sense, or as it is variously described by the ancients, or, lastly, as comprehending all that large tract bounded almost entirely by the

* Golii. Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in Descript. Arab. pass. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Rasim, ibid.

Euphrates, the Persian Gulph, the Sindian, Indian, Red Seas, and part of the Mediterranean^f.

The first part of the peninsula of the Arabs was divided into Kedem and Arabah, as we learn from Scripture. Kedem, or the land of Kedem, comprehended the Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of Ptolemy, whose limits and extent we shall soon describe from that geographer. Arabah answered to that country called, from Petra its metropolis, Arabia Petraea by Ptolemy; Arabia Citerior, from its situation in respect of Italy, by Pliny; and Arabia Vetus by Stephanus and Procopius, according to Ortelius. Moses seems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a precision worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the south it reached to the sea of Suph, or the Red Sea; on the west to Paran and Tophel; on the north to Laban, Hatseroth, and Di-Zahab, that is, to the borders of Syria; and on the east to Kadesh-Barnea, about eleven days journey from Mount Horeb. As *Arabah* imports the *west*, so *Kedem* does the *east*; and these significations agree with the situation of those regions. The Arabic version makes Kedem to extend as far as Rekem or Petra, which is controverted by other authors. In one passage Moses apparently comprehends Chaldaea under the name of Kedem; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The first inhabitants of Arabah, or the western Arabia, were the Caslûhchim, descended from Misraim, the Caphtorim, and the Horites, who occupied Mount Seir, before they were expelled from thence by Esau and his posterity. Afterwards Ishmael and his descendants settled here; and last of all the Edomites, or Idumæans. As for Kedem, or the Eastern Arabia, it was first peopled by the sons of Joktan, who are reputed the aboriginal Arabians; though in process of time the Ishmaelites spread themselves over this country. That some of the Cushites gained possession of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of Abraham, by his concubine Keturah, likewise contributed towards increasing its inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian^g.

Ptolemy seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now treating of into three parts. These he termed

Ptolemy the first who divided it into three parts.

^f Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. ubi sup. Xenoph. in *Anacôr.* lib. i. Ptol. in *Arab.* Atwal, Kanun, Rasm, Abulsed. Gol. &c. ubi sup. ^g Gagnier. ubi sup. Plin. lib. v. cap. 11. & lib. vi. cap. 34. Strab. ubi sup. Procopius, Stephanus Byzant. & Ortelius apud Gagn. ubi supra. Deut. chap. i. ver. 1. Ptol. Arab. ubi sup. Jud. chap. vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33. Gen. chap. xxix. ver. 1.

Arabia Petrea, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has pursued.

Arabia Petrea on the east was contiguous to Syria and Arabia Deserta; on the west to Egypt, or rather that neck of land separating Africa from Asia, called at this day the Isthmus of Suez, and the Heroopolitan Gulph (C); on the north to Palestine, the lake Asphaltites, and Coele Syria; and on the south to Arabia Felix. This tract did not admit of much cultivation, the greatest part of it being covered with dry sands or rocks, interspersed with some fruitful spots. Petra, its metropolis, seems to have been denominated by the Hebrews Sela. Among the Syrians it went by the name of Rekem, and was the same town that we find in Scripture named Joktheel. Josephus calls it Arke, and Arakeme, which Bochart takes to be equivalent to Rekem, as being only that word with an article prefixed. Petra was the chief fortress of the Idumeans, Edomites, or Nabathæans, as already observed, and derived this appellation from its rocky situation. It was accessible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could pass at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. Authors, however, differ with regard to its situation. Some writers are of opinion, that the city of Karak, or Krak, lying on the confines of Arabia and Syria, is the ancient Petra. According to them, this fortress (for such the word signifies in the Syriac and Chaldee tongues) answers to the Characha in the Maccabees, the Karkaa in the book of Joshua, the Charac Moab, or Charac Moba, of Ptolemy,

(C) The Heroopolitan Gulph received its name from the city of Heroopolis, bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of the sea Al-Kolzom, is the Yam Suph, or Yam Sough, *the weedy sea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. Shaw supposes it to have been so called from the variety of algae and fuci that grow within its channel, and, at low-water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. It may be proper to remark, that the

Yam Sough was likewise denominated Yam Edom, or *the Sea of Edom*, by the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it; for the sons of Edom having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father Edom called the gulph we are now mentioning the Sea of Edom. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnicians, rendered Yam Edom improperly *ερυθρά θάλασσα*, *the Red Sea*, mistaking the word Edom for an appellative.

and the Charakmoba of Stephanus. Other authors make this city the same with Hagr or Hejr, the capital of a district in the kingdom of Hejaz; and there are still historians who credit that Errakim, or Arrakeh, a place in a northerly direction from Hagr, near Krak or Caracha, corresponds with the Petra of the ancients. None of these notions seems very remote from truth; though the last has been so strongly supported by the famous Mr. Albertus Schultens, that we think it cannot easily be refuted.^b

It cannot be supposed, that such a barren region should abound with large and populous cities; and therefore most of those places, whose names have been handed down to us by Ptolemy, must be considered either as insignificant or obscure. The principal places appertaining to Arabia Petræa, noticed in Scripture, besides those already mentioned, were Paran, Duma, and Pithom. Paran, the Phara of Ptolemy, gave name to a famous desert adjoining to it. Duma stood upon Mount Seir; and, from what the prophet Isaiah intimates, was probably a place of some importance. Heroopolis, on the western extremity of the Arabian Gulph, is by some supposed to be Pithom, built by the Israelites for Pharaoh, during their servitude in Egypt, and the Patumos or Patumon of Herodotus. Be this as it may, it is certain the Septuagint and Coptic versions countenance such a supposition, the one rendering Goshen Heroopolis, and the other Pethom. The generality of the ancient geographers have ranked this city amongst those belonging to Egypt; but Herodotus was of another opinion. Haura, Zathag or Zatha, and Zize, three modern places of this country, correspond tolerably well with the Auara, Zanaatha, and Ziza of Ptolemy; but as for Lyfa, Gypsaria, Gerasa, and most, if not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, scarce any traces of them are now to be found.^c

Towns in
Arabia
Petræa.

The most considerable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the Ishmaelites, the Nabatæi or Nabathæans, the Cedræi or Kedareni, and the Agareni or Ha-

Nations of
Arabia
Petræa.

^b Dr. Shaw's Physical Observations, &c. or an Essay towards the Natural History of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & seq. Euseb. & Hieron. in Arkem. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Petr. Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. *Χαδνραία*. Calmet, in Dict. Bibl. voc. Petra. Euseb. Onomast. urb. & loc. ad voc. *πίτρα*. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geograph. in Vit. Salad in voc. Errakimum. ^c Ptol. ubi supra. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Hieronymus apud Salmaf. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. chap. xxi. ver. 21. Num. chap. x. ver. 12. Isai. chap. xxi. ver. 11. Vide Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 2. par. 1. *loc. 7.* & Chart. Geograph. Arab. a Sen. & Sal. ed.

gareni (D). Of these the Ishmaelites were the most potent, if they did not comprehend the whole. The Nabathæans and Kedareni apparently deduced their names from Nebai-oth and Kedar, the sons of Ishmael, and consequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the Ishmaelites; or in every respect as the same nation with them. It is probable the descendants of Midian, one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, inhabited the neighbourhood of the Ishmaelites; since we find the same people called in Scripture Ishmaelites and Midianites. Amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans, the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deserta, at least the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of Arabes, and Nabatæi, Nauatæi, or Nabatæ. They extended themselves, according to St. Jerom, from the Red Sea to the Euphrates; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated Nabatena. Indeed, so numerous were the Nabathæans, that we find them mixed with the Reubenites, Gadites, and people of Moab. The Cedræi or Kedareni and Chanceli seem to have been intermixed with them. Cellarius places the Cedræi near the northern confines of Arabia Felix. The Midianites made a settlement behind the Elanitic Gulph, and incorporated themselves with the Cushites. If the Hagareni did not correspond entirely with the Ishmaelites, they must have been nearly related to them. Kimchi asserts, that they were originally the children of Hagar by an Arab, after she had left Abraham; but other writers are inclined to believe they assumed their name from the stony region they inhabited. Cellarius thinks, that at first they must have been but an obscure people, though neither Trajan nor Severus could reduce their metropolis, according to Dio. Their territory bordered upon the land of Moab, as may be inferred from Scripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon were absorbed in that of Saracens, which continued famous for several centuries over the eastern and western parts of the world. It is observable, that the Jerusalem Targum styles the Ishmaelites Saracens. That the Arraceni of Pliny were the Saraceni of Ptolemy and Diodorides, may be evinced by several arguments: 1. The same proper name has sometimes an S, and sometimes a vowel, for its initial letter. 2. Ptolemy assigns the same situation to the Saraceni that Pliny does to the Arraceni. 3. They had both the same origin, and deduced their names

(D) To these we may add upon Gerar and Pharan, and the inhabitants of the wilderness of Mahan, called in Scripture Mechunim, who bordered

from

from that of the same city. This will more evidently appear, from the account we shall give of the Saracens in the following part.

Before we leave Arabia Petræa, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places: 1. The town of Colzum or Kolzom, giving name to the sea adjoining to it, the Clyfma, as is supposed, of Ptolemy, which stood on the western extremity of the Red Sea, near the spot where the city of Sucz was afterwards erected, and not far from the ancient Heroopolis. 2. The wilderness of Sdur or Shur, which extends from the extremity of the Heroopolitan Gulph, now called by the Arabs the western arm of the sea Al Kolzom, to the desert of Paran. 3. The wilderness of Paran, extended from the former desert to Mount Sinai. 4. The wilderness of Sin, contiguous to the former, and lying between Mount Sinai and the aforesaid branch of the sea Al Kolzom. 5. The desert of Sinai, which is separated from that of Sin by many windings and intricate turnings, that take up twelve hours in passing. It is a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and near three in length, lying open towards the N. E. where passengers enter it; but is closed up to the southward by some of the lower eminences of Mount Sinai. 6. The mounts Casius and Sinai, which were in Arabia, according to St. Paul, Pliny, and Strabo. 7. Eziongaber, a celebrated port in the reigns of Solomon and Jehosaphat, now called Meenah el Dfahab, *the Port of Gold*, on the Elanitic Gulph of the Red Sea. 8. The promontory of Paran between the Heroopolitan and Elinitic gulphs, mentioned by Ptolemy. 9. Adra, in the northern part of Arabia Petræa, an episcopal see, over which Proclus presided at the council of Chalcedon, according to Lucas Holstenius. 10. Elufa, which, agreeable to the Jerusalem Targum, seems to have corresponded with Sur, and was likewise the seat of a bishop. 11. Bosfra, twenty-five miles from Adra, a town of this region greatly honoured by Trajan, and called also Philippopolis, from the emperor Philip, surnamed *Arabo*, by Aurelius Victor. 12. Moca, a city taken notice of by a medal of Antoninus Pius as governed by its own laws.

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

Arabia Deserta was bounded on the north by the Euphrates, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from Mesopotamia; on the west by Syria, Judæa, and Arabia Petræa; on the east by Chaldæa and Babylonia, or to speak more accurately, by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by Arabia Felix, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills.

Arabia Deserta.

The

The Cauchabeni, according to Ptolemy, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the Euphrates, as the Batanzai occupied that upon the confines of Syria. The Agubeni and Rhaabeni were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of Arabia Felix; and by the Persian Gulph the Orcheni. Under the Cauchabeni, near the borders of Babylonia, the *Æsitæ* had their habitation; and above the Rhaabeni the Mafani. In the interior part the Agræi were seated; and in the mountainous region, near Chaldæa, the Marteni or Martini were situated. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the *Æsitæ* and Agræi, were very obscure; but concerning those deserving some attention, a word or two may not prove unacceptable to our readers.

The Æsitæ. Bochart suggests that the *Æsitæ* inhabited that tract where Job was seated. He believes, that Ptolemy wrote *Ausitæ*, *Ausitæ*; and that Uz the son of Nahor, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This opinion, it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability *.

The Agræi. The Agræi lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of Arabia Petræa; a situation which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them Agræi, and make them the same people with the Hagareni, whom we have placed in Arabia Petræa. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a great part of Arabia, and been much more powerful than Cellarius is willing to allow them.

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deserta. It is very well known, that the ancient Itureans, Edomites, Nabathæans, people of Kedar, and other nations settled in Arabia Petræa, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present Bedoweens, destitute of houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greater part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lonesome, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, except at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vegetables, therefore, which they produced, must have been very limited by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dew sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the deserts were found large mountains of sand, formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the day-time, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very scarce in these parts, that it is not wonderful they should have caused so much strife and contention.

* Bochart. *Reak. lib. ii. cap. 8.*

However,

However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now mentioning, those extensive plains of sand were interspersed with fruitful spots, which appeared like so many little islands surrounded by a great ocean. These being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the Arabs, with their flocks, encamped upon some of them, and, having consumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the custom of the Bedoweens at present. Such fruitful spots were likewise frequent in Libya, and by the Egyptians called Auafes or Abafes, as we learn from Strabo. The barren part of Arabia Felix, bordering upon the Red Sea, was, in the like manner, interspersed with such Abafes as probably gave name to the Abaseni, a nation settled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of these, crossing the Streights of Bab al Mandab, passed into Ethiopia, which from them received the denomination of Abassia. This supposition, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. Ludolfus, appears to us much more probable than that either the Arabs or Ethiopians should have been called Abassines, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation: for the very notion of such a mixture is repugnant to the whole stream of Oriental antiquity, and even to the sacred writings themselves, as our readers will easily collect from several passages of this history. It is certain the Nubians, a people inhabiting part of Libya Interior, abounding with Abafes, and Ethiopia, went anciently under the appellation of Abaseni; a circumstance which adds no small weight to our opinion. That even the fruitful part of Arabia Felix itself should be called Abaseni, is not to be wondered at, since it might as well derive this name from Arabia Petrea, as it did from thence that of Arabah or Arabia.

Though Ptolemy has handed down to us a large list of the towns appertaining to Arabia Deserta, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing observations, that few of them were places of any great importance. That geographer makes Thapsacus on the Euphrates, a city of some note on account of the bridge over which Alexander and Darius marched their respective armies; its frontier on the side of Mesopotamia; but Pliny and Stephanus think this town belonged to Syria. Near the mountains separating Arabia from Chaldæa stood Themma, Thema, or Tema, so called from Thema or Tema the son of Ishmael, mentioned in Scripture; for the Ishmaelites extended themselves from the land of Havilah near the Euphrates to the confines of Egypt. Seba was upon the borders of Arabia Felix,

*Towns of
Arabia
Deserta.*

lix, and founded probably by Seba Abraham's grandson; as all that patriarch's children by Keturah, according to Moses, moved towards the east. Gadirtha, Auzara, Audattha or Adittha, Balatæa, Pharga, Belgæa, and the other ancient cities situated along the banks of the Euphrates, have long since been invisible; unless we will admit some traces of Audattha, or Adittha, and Balatæa, to be still extant in the modern Haditha and Balladoc. Ammæa, Idacara, and Jucara, towards the Persian Gulph, are equally obscure; except the present Al-Kere should be thought to bear some resemblance to the two latter. Salma, Calathusa, Arrade, Tedium, Odagena, Luma, and Dumætha; in the mediterranean parts; Artemita and Abæra on the skirts of Arabia Felix; Thauba, Erupa, Alata, Aurana, Choce, Barathena, &c. to the northward; never probably made any considerable figure. However, that some memory of Salma seems still to be preserved in Mount Salma, of Dumætha in Dawmat-al-Jandal, of Aurana in Auran, and of Alata in Aladi, we think, cannot well be denied ¹.

Arabia Felix.

Arabia Felix was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms just described; on the south by the Erythrean sea; on the east and west by part of that sea, together with the Arabian and Persian gulphs. In fine, it nearly answered to that tract which is looked upon as the proper peninsula of the Arabs by the Oriental geographers. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which sufficiently corresponds with the division of the Proper Arabia into five provinces by the eastern writers. These provinces are Yaman, Hejaz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama; to which some add Bahrein, as a sixth. But the more accurate make this a part of Irâk, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with Strabo. Others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejaz, the last including the three provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamama. The principal nations noticed by the ancients as settled here were the Sabæi, Gerræi, Minæi or Minnæi, Atramiæ, Maranitiæ, Catabani, Ascitiæ, Homeritiæ, Sapphoritiæ, Omanitiæ, Saraceni, Nabathæi, Thamydeni, and Buizomenæ. As the limits and situation of these nations cannot be determined with any kind of precision, we shall be as concise as possible in the particular geography of the Happy Arabia ^m.

¹ Ptol. ubi supra. ⁿ Arrian. lib. i. p. 116. & lib. iii. p. 168. Strab. lib. xvi. Plin. lib. v. cap. 24. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. Vide etiam Chært. Geograph. Arab. a Sen. Sal. &c. ed. ^m Ptol. ubi supra. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1119. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Agatharchid. Caïd. Mel. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Marcian. Heraclæot. Agathem. aliique Antiq. Script. pass.

The Sabæi seem to have possessed a very considerable territory in the southern and best part of this peninsula. Their country was highly celebrated amongst the ancients for the great quantity of frankincense it produced. Saba or Sabæ, its metropolis, according to the ancient geographers, stood upon a hill, at no very great distance from the Red Sea, being a large, opulent, and strong city. It was defended by a castle, and, as has been supposed by many learned men, together with the Arab nation in general, the residence of the queen of Sheha. That the modern Mareb answers to Saba, must be admitted, at least it is extremely probable from Pliny, who, together with Strabo, mentions Mariaba or Meriaba, the same words apparently with Mâreb, as the capital of the Sabæi; but is entirely silent as to the city of Saba. According to the eastern geographers, the town of Mâreb or Mârab is something above three days journey from Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, in an eastern direction. The Arabs assert that both the town and district have been so denominated from Saba the son of Jexhab, and grandson of Joktan, whose name imports *to lead into captivity*, because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. Pliny makes the Persian and Arabian Gulphs the eastern and western boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were Marana, Marma, Cogolia, and Sabatha; and inland cities Nascus, Cardaua, and Carnus. Rhegama or Rhegma, founded probably by Raamah the son of Cush, seated on the Persian Gulph, seems likewise to have appertained to the Sabæi.

The Gerræi and Minæi, according to Strabo, brought vast quantities of frankincense, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or southern parts of Arabia Felix to the sea-ports; which affords a strong presumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the Sabæi. We find the towns of Bilæna or Bilban, Gera, and Magindana, mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to Gerræi; and the Minæi, a powerful nation, joined with the Gerræi by Diodorus and Strabo. The last author calls the region of the Minæi, Minæa, or Mæinæa, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from Ailah. Its principal city was Carana or Carana, called, as should seem, Carnus by Pliny, and placed by him in the country of the Sabæi; a circumstance which corroborates in no small degree what we have just advanced.

The Gerræi and Minæi.

ⁿ Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Agatharchid. Cnid. Peripl. p. 63. Ptol. ubi supra. Dionys. Perieg. v. 927, &c. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87. Geogr. Nub. clim. ii. Par. 6, & alib. ^o Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xvi.

*The Adrami-
tæ.*

As for the Atramitæ or Adramitæ, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at present named Hadramaut or Hadramutta, and consequently formed a tribe of the Sabæi. Their metropolis was called Sabota or Sabatha, as may be inferred from Pliny and Ptolemy; besides which the port of Cane, at the southern extremity of Arabia Felix, belonged to them. Xibân, or Shibân, and Tezim, are now the principal towns of Hadramaut, each about a day's journey from the Indian ocean. Shibân stands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the same name, is fortified with a citadel of great strength, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation. It bears likewise the name of Hadramaut amongst the Arabs, lies in about 13 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and is seven days journey from Aden. The province was denominated Hadramaut from one of the sons of Joktan, whose descendants first peopled it ².

*The Maran-
itæ.*

The Maranitæ or Maranenses must have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot precisely ascertain their situation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the Mara or Amara of Ptolemy, and the Mara of some of the Oriental geographers ³.

*The Cata-
bani.*

Cellarius mentions the Catabani as a people of some importance; and Pliny tells us, that the Larendani, Catabani, and Gebanitæ, had many towns, particularly Nagia and Tamnas containing sixty-five temples. Tamua must have been the seat of some Arab prince governing the Catabani, according to Strabo; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of Tehama stretching out as far to the southward as the city of Aden. Golius says, that the word signifies *a violent heat*; and that the country was so named from its being greatly exposed to the solar rays, whose heat there is very intense. Tebala, the capital of Tehama, a town of considerable note, built by Tebala, the son of Midian, stands in the road from Mecca to Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman ⁴.

The Ascitæ.

The Ascitæ possessed all that tract about the promontory Syagrus, the cape Ras el Ghat of the moderns, including, as should seem, part of the provinces of Omân and Maïra.

*The Homer-
itæ.*

Ptolemy mentions the Homerites as a nation seated in the southern parts of Arabia Felix and bounded on the east by the Adramitæ, or province of Hadramaut. Some authors make them the same people with the Sabæans, whilst others

² Plin. ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 82. ³ Ptol. lib. viii. Corbodin & Bbæ Joun. apud Gol. ubi supra, p. 84.
⁴ Cellar. ubi supra, p. 598, 599. Plin. Ptol. Steph. Byzant. ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. Kelebaus in lib. de Etymis Locor. apud Gol. ubi supra, p. 85. Geogr. Nubiens. & Yacût ibid.

consider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon Sabæi and Homeritæ to have been different names of one nation, and are countenanced in this opinion by the Oriental historians; for these inform us, that the Sabæans were called Hamyarites from Hamyar the son of their great ancestor Saba; and that they ruled over almost the whole country of Yaman. Though the kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, was at length ceded from the princes of Hamyar to the descendants of Cahlan his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of Hamyar. They made a great figure amongst the ancient Arabs before the time of Mohammed, as will more fully appear in the sequel of this history.

The Sapphoritæ of Ptolemy cannot be considered as a people distinct from the Homerites, notwithstanding the authority of Ptolemy and Cellarius; they were only the citizens of Sapphar, or, as Pliny says, Saphar, a large city in the dominions of the Homerites. Ptolemy assigns this place a position near the present Sanaa, which we cannot consider as extremely probable, especially as Saphar is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by Pliny. The Arabs believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of Sephar; from whence the excellent Golius concludes this tract to have been the Mount Sephar of Moses.

The Sapphoritæ.

We find the Omanitæ described by Ptolemy, and Omanum, their chief city, represented by him as one of the most considerable places in Arabia. It cannot be doubted but the Omân of Alfraganus, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of Yaman and Bahrein, is the Omanum of Ptolemy; and the country in which it is seated, the district of the ancient Omanitæ: from whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the Homerites, and consequently ought to be regarded as a tribe of that people. The citadel of Omân is defended by a strong garrison of Arabs. The province of Omân stretches three hundred miles on the coast of the Persian sea, which is there called the sea of Omân. In the time of Ptolemy, Omanum, or Sohâr, was a famous mart; but has been almost deserted by merchants for several ages.

The Omanitæ.

The Saracens or Nabathæans possessed that part of Arabia Felix bordering upon Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deserta; but what was the extent of this territory we are not informed. Contiguous to them the ancients placed the Thamudeni, Thamuditæ, or Thamydeni, a people also mentioned

The Saracens.

* Geogr. Nabienf. & Philosophus Xirafita in Clim. ii.

in the Koran. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the (L) Thamydeni inhabited part of the coast of the Arabian gulph; and Pliny intimates their principal city to have been named Badanatha. In fine, Golius believes them to have occupied a great part at least of the province of Hejaz, and particularly that district wherein Hagar or Al Hejr, the Egra or Agra of Stephanus and Ptolemy, is situated. This, as well as other considerations that might be offered, plainly proves them to have been nearly related to the Saracens and Nabathæans, if not entirely the same people¹.

The Brizomenæ.

Diodorus Siculus maintains, that in the neighbourhood of the Thamydeni were likewise seated the Brizomenæ, who lived upon wild-beasts taken in hunting. In their country stood a temple held in the highest veneration amongst the Arabs².

We might here mention several other nations, or rather tribes, mentioned by the ancients as appertaining to Arabia Felix: but since these either coincide with some of the Ethiopic cantons already described, or may be considered as branches of the Saracens, Nabathæans, Sabæans, and Homerites; our readers will excuse even a bare enumeration of them. The same may be said of that large catalogue of obscure and insignificant towns and villages, belonging to these tribes, to be found in Ptolemy, of which that geographer himself had no idea. However, we must not pass over in silence some towns and sea-ports of Arabia, which were held in estimation by the old geographers and historians.

Remarkable places in Arabia Felix.

Nyfa was a town of Arabia on the Red Sea, famous for the education of Bacchus, who from thence, and his father Jupiter, received the name of Dionysus. Arga and Badeo, two maritime cities in a southerly direction from Nyfa, contained royal palaces, in which the sovereigns of the country sometimes resided. Pudni we find considered by Ptolemy as one of the principal places of Arabia Felix. Musa or Muza was a celebrated emporium and harbour, to which the Arab merchants resorted with their frankincense, spices, and perfumes. The best authors take the modern Mocha or Mokha to correspond with the ancient Musa; but, in our opinion, Mofa, at present a small but handsome town, near ten leagues from Mokha, seems to bid the fairest

¹ Plin. & Cellar. ubi supra. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. ² Diod. lib. iii.

(L) The Thamydeni were whom we shall have occasion to mention the tribe of Thamud, so famous hereafter to speak amongst the Arab writers, of

for that ancient mart. This not only appears from the very great affinity, or rather identity, of their names and situation, but likewise from hence, that Mofa is the market for the fruits which are brought from the mountainous parts of Arabia; a circumstance agreeing with what the ancients have related of Mufa. Be that as it may, we cannot deny that some traces of Mufa are still preserved in Mofa; especially as Pliny intimates, that the Arab merchants brought in his time vast quantities of the produce of their country to the former place. Ocelis, according to Pliny and Arrian, stood upon the shore of that narrow sea called by the moderns the streights of Bab-al-Mandab, and supplied the merchants with fresh water in their Indian voyages. Arabiæ Emporium has been already mentioned, and will be described when we come to speak of the city of Aden, which is supposed to answer to it. The port of Moscha our readers will probably place upon the spot occupied at this day by the city of Maskat. The memory and situation of Atamas Portus, still remain in Cadhema, a town or village on the Persian gulf, or bay of Basra *.

Before we conclude this section, our readers will expect a sketch of the Oriental geography of the peninsula of the Arabs. The best eastern writers, as has been already observed, divide this peninsula into five provinces or kingdoms, namely, Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama. This division is of great antiquity, as appears from Strabo; which is not surprising, since the Arab customs, names of towns, &c. are nearly the same now that they were above three thousand years ago †.

*Oriental
geography
of Arabia.*

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right hand or south of the temple of Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends along the Indian ocean from the streights of Bab-al-Mandab to cape Rafalgat. Part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west, as the town of Najran, the Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, Haly or Haljo on the sea 'Al Kolzom, and Oman or Sohar, do on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Oman, and Mahra, of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense.

Yaman.

This country has been famous from antiquity for its fertility, riches, and happiness of its climate. The principal

*Principal
ancient cities
of
Yaman.*

* Herod. lib. ii. iii. Diod. Sic. lib. i. & lib. iii. Apollod. Bib. lioth. lib. iii. cap. 4. sect. 3. extr. p. 159. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 2. Arrian. Plin. Ptol. ubi supra. Gagn. ubi supra, sect. 2. La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab. Heur. 1711, 1712, 1713. Arrian. Peripl. p. 8. Cellar, ubi sup. † Strab. lib. xvi. Golii Not. ad Afragan. p. 79.

cities known to the ancients are the following: 1. Mokha, if it was the Musa or Muza of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian; which still, we apprehend, will admit of a dispute. It is at present a port and town on the Red-Sea of considerable trade; contains ten thousand inhabitants, Jews, Armenians, and Mahomedans; is surrounded with walls, after the ancient manner; and has four gates without a ditch, though strengthened by four towers, mounted with a proper number of cannon. 2. Aden, a celebrated mart on the Indian ocean, near the streights of Bab-al-Mandab, so called, according to the Arabs, from its founder Aden the son of Saba, and grandson of Abraham. Some believe the name to be the same with Eden, the Hebrew word denoting Paradise; and that the town under consideration received this name from the delightful country in which it was situated. It stands at the foot of several high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. The Arabs have erected five or six forts on the summits of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications. A fine aqueduct conveys from thence the waters into a great canal or reservoir, built about three quarters of a mile from the city, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. Golius offers several reasons to prove, that Aden is the Arabia Emporium of Ptolemy, which seem to carry considerable weight. It cannot be doubted that Aden is the Adana which Stephanus mentions from Uranius. 3. Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, a very ancient city, greatly resembling Damascus. It is seated in a mountainous territory, and blessed with a most delightful air; inasmuch that it enjoys a double summer, or rather a perpetual spring. It is about fifty leagues distant from Mokha, on the borders of Hadramaut, and was denominated Ozal from its founder the son of Joktan. The Arabs likewise make Sanaa the son of Ozal to have communicated that name to this city, by which it goes at present. Some assert it to be the Saphar of Ptolemy, as above observed. Sanaa, towards the beginning of the last century, consisted of good houses built with lime and stone, being as large as Bristol. It stands in a barren and stony valley, surrounded at a small distance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the Arabs have built a small castle, to curb the neighbouring mountaineers, who sometimes insult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from a considerable distance, and consequently very dear. On the east side stands the castle, environed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are posted

posted proper guards: the king of Yaman does not at present reside here, but at Muab, a town built by one of the last monarchs of this country, not a mile from Dhamar, a little to the S. E. of Sanaa. 4. Saba or Mareb, in the province of Hadramaut; it is at present little better than a village, and stands above three days journey E. of Sanaa. 5. Shibam, and Dhafar, towns of very high antiquity, have been already described. 6. Oman or Sohar, the Omanum of Ptolemy, was formerly frequented by merchants of various nations; but has for several ages been deserted. This decay seems to have been occasioned by the vicinity of a small rocky island called Kis, so low that it cannot be discovered at any distance, on which many ships were wrecked. Kis lies a little to the east of Charec, another small island opposite to the coast of Oman, famous for a pearl-fishery, according to Abulfeda. Iacutus and the Nubian geographer make both these islands, now called the isles of Sohar, about half a day's sail from the main land of Arabia; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in Oman are frequently so intense, that they have passed into a proverb amongst the Orientals. The town of Sohar must be in something more than 24 degrees N. latitude, though Ptolemy places his Omanum Emporium in 19 degrees 45 minutes north latitude, and Ebn Maruph, mathematician to sultan Morad or Amurath II. asserts Oman or Sohar to be in about 23 degrees N. latitude. All other remarkable particulars relating to this place our readers will find in the authors here referred to.

The best part of Arabia Felix, or that which the Greeks called Most Happy, was probably the country of Yaman; the delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains: for all that part lying along the Red Sea is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but, in return, bounded by mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, as well as excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The principal of these mountains described by the ancients were Cabubathra, Melan, Prionotus, and Didymi, whose Arabic names have not hitherto been brought into Europe. The present Arab river Falj, emptying itself into the Bay of Basra, seems to be the Priou of Ptolemy; and the modern city Masfa his Mæphath, situate about 30 minutes N. of the source of that river. However, it must

Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of Yaman.

i. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubienf. & Philof. Xiranta in clim.
ii. Yacût. & Ebn. Maruph. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78, 81.

be owned, that a river of Oman, falling into the Indian ocean at Sûr, about 40 minutes N. of Maskat, possibly the Moscha Portus of Ptolemy, seems also likely to be the Prion. No other rivers of consequence are to be found in Yaman; which is not to be wondered at, since the streams, which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being generally absorbed in the burning sands of that coast².

*Hejaz,
with its
chief cities,
&c.*

Hejaz, either so named because it divides Najd from Tehama, or because it is surrounded with mountains, is limited on the south by Yaman and Tehama; on the west by the sea 'Al Kolzom; on the north by the deserts of Sham or Syria; and on the east by the province of Najd¹. This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment. The soil of Hejaz, like that of Najd, Tehama, and Yamama, is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm-trees. The chief towns in Hejaz, deserving any attention on account of their antiquity, are the following: 1. Mecca, sometimes also called Becca, which words are synonymous, and signify *a place of great intercourse*, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world. Some authors imagine it to be the Mefa or Mesha of the Scripture, as already observed, and that it derived its name from one of Ishmael's sons. It stands in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains under the same parallel with the Macoraba of Ptolemy, and about forty Arabian miles from the sea 'Al Kolzom. The length of Mecca, from Maalah to Masphalah, is about two miles; and its breadth, from the foot of the mountain Ajyad to the top of another called Koaikaan, about a mile. In the midst of this space the town is seated, built of stone extracted from the neighbouring mountains. The Arab authors tell us, that near a chapel, or holy house (for so the Arabs term it) in the centre of 'Al-Hharam, or great temple, here called 'Al-Caabah, stands a white stone, which was the sepulchre of Ishmael; and that 'Al-Caabah was first built by Adam³ of stone, but destroyed by the deluge. However, add they, God commanded Abraham

¹ La Roque Voy. de l'Arab. Heur. p. 121, 123, 153. Ptol. Strab. Plin. ubi sup. Abulfez, in Arab.

² Gol. ad Alfragan. p. 98.

and Ishmael to rebuild it; which they did, covering it with the boughs of olive-trees, and erecting the trunks of palm-trees for pillars. There being no springs at Mecca, at least none but what are bitter, and unfit to drink, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water, which they preserve in cisterns: but this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreish, endeavoured at a great expence to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Soliman the Turkish emperor; but, long before that prince's time, another aqueduct had been formed from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the Khalif al Moktader Abbasida. Notwithstanding the sterility of the soil near Mecca, it being so barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, yet a traveller is no sooner out of its territory, than he meets on all sides with plenty of good springs, and streams of running water, with many gardens and cultivated lands. The prince or sharif of Mecca has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. This prince is lineally descended from Halthem, Mohammed's great-grandfather, who being the head of his tribe, appointed two caravans to travel yearly, the one in summer, and the other in winter, to foreign parts, in order the more effectually to supply his countrymen with provisions, the people of Mecca having no corn or grain of their own growth. They are supplied with dates in vast abundance from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The citizens of Mecca are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They possess also great numbers of cattle, and particularly camels: however, the poorer sort must live very indifferently, in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. The sharif of Mecca's troops consist entirely of infantry, which the Arabs call *'al-harabbah*, i. e. *archers* or *dartmen*. We must not omit observing, that Safa or Marwah were two places in Mecca, in which the idols Asaph and Nayelah were erected before the time of Mohammed. The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, will be treated of in the modern history of the Arabs.

We must distinguish between the Hharam of Mecca, considered as the territory of the sharif, extending some miles beyond the city, and the magnificent temple in it so called, being three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four^b pillars. It must not be forgot that the Arabs have a tradition, that Ishmael, with his mother Hagar, fixed his residence here; a belief, which seems to have induced them frequently to visit Mecca, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of Mohammed. Abulfeda places this city in 67 degrees 31 minutes long. and 21 degrees 20 minutes N. lat. Some of the Orientals suppose the patriarch Abraham to have been the founder; but others with more reason attribute its foundation to one of the sons of Ishmael^c. 2. Medina, which, till Mohammed's retreat thither, was called Yathreb, is a city standing in a plain, furrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coast of the Red Sea. Abulfeda intimates, that one of its ancient names from Taibah, a word importing *salubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half the size of Mecca, and ten days journey from thence. In some parts its territory produces palm-tree fruits, and several falfuginous plants. About the mountains Air and Ohud, the first of which is two leagues to the south, and the other as many to the north of Medina, the country produces plenty of dates. The name Yathreb was derived from the chief of the tribe that first settled here, whom the Arabs make the great grandson of Aram. Here Mohammed lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. Its situation has not been exactly defined, some authors determining its longitude to be 67 degrees 30 minutes, and others 65 degrees 20 minutes, and its latitude either 24 or 25 degrees N. Medina is dignified by the Mohammedans with the title of the City of the Prophet, from the kind reception Mohammed met with in this place^d. 3. Thaifa or Taifa, a town sixty miles to

^b R. Saadias in Version. Arab. Pentat. Pitt's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96, 107. Sharif al Edrisi apud Pocock. in Not. ad Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125, ut & ipse Pocock, ibid. p. 51. Sharif al Edrisi apud Cagn. in Not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 29, 30. ut & ipse Ahoffed. ibid. Vide etiam Adr. Reland. lib. de Relig. Mohammed & Effig. Caabæ cum Templ. ei Circumd. ibid. ^c Galii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Gen chap. x. & xxxi. Abulfed. & Alb. Schult. ubi sup. ^d Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40, 41. Alb. Schult. in Ind. Geographic. ubi sup. Sharif al Edrisi, Vulgo, Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. part 5. Kalkashendi, p. 400. Pocock. in Not. ad Specim. Hist. Arab. pass. Safiod. in Compend. Lexic. Al Sharistanj apud Pocock. ubi sup.

the east of Mecca, behind Mount Gazwan, where the cold is more intense than in any other part of Hejaz, but the air extremely salubrious. It had the name of Vegja given it by its founder. The Turks call it the region of Al Abbas, from the uncle of Mohammed, who fixed his residence here. The word Taifa plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is surrounded. Latitude 21 degrees 20 minutes N. 4. Gjudda or Jodda, a port and maritime city, the bulwark of Mecca, must undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though scarce ever mentioned by the Greek or Roman authors. The town of Aidab on the confines of Abassia, stands on the opposite shore, where great numbers of African Mohammedans take shipping, in order to visit the holy city of Mecca. Latitude 21 degrees 45 minutes N. 5. Yanbo, or Al-Yanbo, is undoubtedly the Iambia of Ptolemy, and not far from Medina, or, as the Arabs more properly style it, 'Al-Madinah. We find it represented as a small city by Abulfeda, who likewise cites Ebn Said, as affirming it to have a castle, and several fountains in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to 'Al-Madinah. A little to the east of Yanbo stands Mount Radwa, about seven stations from 'Al-Madinah, from whence a vast quantity of whetstones is exported into various regions. All the district of Yanbo produces palm-trees, water, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the Hhasanites, who lived after the manner of the ancient Arabes Scenitzæ, and resembled them in every particular. Ebn Hhiawkal observes, that the Hhasanites and Giafarites, whose territories were contiguous, so weakened one another by continual wars, that their country became a prey to the king of Yaman. 6. Madian, the Modiana of Ptolemy, and Midian or Madian of Scripture, is a city of Hejaz, at present little better than a heap of ruins. It is situated on the eastern shore of the sea 'Al Kolzom, at no great distance from the gulph of Ailah. The Arabs preserve several traditions relating to this place; that it received its name from the tribe of Madian, who first built and inhabited it; that Shoaib, the son of Mikail, the son of Yashjar, the son of Madian, of that tribe, was the same person with the father-in-law of Moses, called in Scripture Reuel or Reguel, and Jethro; and that the well whence Moses, or, as they call him, Musa, watered Jethro's flocks, still remained when Abulfeda wrote his geographical description of Arabia. Most authors agree, that the Midianites ought to be considered

• Sharif al Edrisi, clim. ii. part 5. Atwal, Rasm, Ulugh Beigh apud Abulfeda ubi sup.

as the descendants of Abraham by Ketturah, who afterwards seem to have united with the Ishmaelites; since Moses names the same merchants, who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ishmaelites, and in another Midianites. The sacred historian makes Jethro both the priest and prince of Midian. Ptolemy asserts the latitude of Modiana to be 27 degrees 45 minutes N. which almost exactly corresponds with that assigned it by 'Ebn Said, that is, 27 degrees 50 minutes. 7. Hejr, or 'Al-Hheg'r, in 28 degrees 30 minutes N. latitude, according to 'Ebn Hhawal, was the seat of the tribe of Thamud, the Thamydeni of the ancients. This clearly evinces Hejr to be the Egra or Agra of Pliny, since that author makes the Thamydeni neighbours to that city. 'Al-Hheg'r stands amidst a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houses have been cut, as some suppose, by the Amalekites, or their ancestors the Adites, Iramites, and Thamudites. 'Ebn Hhawal calls this ridge of mountains 'Al-Athaleb, i. e. *the fragments of stones* ^f.

Tihama.

Tihama, or Tehama, is a small province, whose limits have not been sufficiently defined by the Arab geographers, who have sometimes confounded it with Yaman and Hejaz. Tehama, according to Golius, derived that name from its sandy soil, as it did another, namely, Gaur, from its low situation. It is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almost from Mecca to Aden. Abulfeda mentions several towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the Greeks and Romans. The Tamna of Pliny, and Thumna of Ptolemy, by the latitude he assigns it, 17 degrees 15 minutes N. seem to bear some relation to Tehama ^g.

As the Nabathæans possessed the greatest part of, if not all, the province of Hejâz, contiguous to Tihama, the Thimanei of Pliny, neighbours to the Nabathæans, must be the Arabs of Tihama.

Najd.

The province of Najd, which word signifies *a rising country*, lies between those of Yamama, Yaman, and Hejaz; and is limited on the east by Irâk. Najd is peculiarly opposed to Tehama, as the name implies, though this last has several ridges of mountains in it.

Yamama.

Yamama, also called Arud, from its oblique situation in respect of Yaman, is encompassed by Najd, Tehama, Bahrein, Oman, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province, and was an-

^f 'Ebn Hhawal apud Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43. Golii Notæ ad Al-fraganum, p. 96. Ptol. in Arab. Pocock. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 27. ^g Golius, ubi sup. p. 93. Sharif al Edrisi, clim. ii. part. 5. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 18. Ptol. ubi sup.

ciently called Jaw, or Gjauva. It is four degrees to the E. of Mecca, and deduced its name, according to Golius, from the niece of Tāsin, whose brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her so famous amongst the Arabs, that one of their proverbs was, "More sharp-sighted than Yamama." The false prophet Moseilama, Mohammed's competitor, rendered this place famous by residing in it; but he being vanquished and killed, it submitted to Abubecr.

Though the more accurate Oriental geographers make Bahrein part of Irāk, yet a concise description of this territory ought not to be omitted here. Bahrein, then, in the most extensive acceptation of the word, denotes that maritime tract lying between Basra and the farthest limits of Omān; to which the Arabs have given the name of Bahrein, i. e. of two seas, or the country of two seas, because it connects the Persian Gulph with the Indian Ocean. In a more confined sense, it is applied to an island, or rather two, of the Persian Gulph, in 26 degrees 30 minutes N. latitude, about a league from the town of 'Al-Katif, seated on that gulph. One of these islands seems to be the Ichara of Ptolemy, and Icharia of Strabo. As Jūsfār and the other principal towns of Bahrein were built after Mohammed's death, our readers will expect some account of them in the modern history of Arabia^h.

The islands of Ænus, Timagenes, Zygæna, and many others, both in the Arabian and Persian Gulphs, enumerated by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Ælian, as appertaining to Arabia, merit not the least attention; but it may not be improper to observe, that, in our opinion, Ptolemy's island of Socrates is the same with the Socotra of the moderns.

The principal islands on the coast of Arabia.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, Learning, Arts and Sciences, Disposition, Manner of Life, &c. of the Arabs.

SOME of the descendents of Cush fixed themselves in that part of Arabia Petræa bordering upon Egypt, extending themselves along the eastern shore of the Red Sea, towards the frontiers of Palæstine and Arabia Felix, in very early times, as has been already observed in the history of the Ethiopians. His sons Seba or Saba, Sabtah, Regma or Raamah, Sabtechah, and grandsons Sheba and Dedan, seated

Some of the posterity of Cush settle in Arabia.

^h Golius, ubi sup. p. 96. Ptol. ubi sup. Strab. lib. xvi. Ælian. de Animal. lib. xi. cap. 9. Sharif al Edrisi, Yacut, & AbulFeda. apud Gol. ibid. p. 78. 81.

themselves likewise in the Happy and Desert Arabia, as appears from the cities Sabota, Rhegana, Rhegama or Rhegma, Saca, Saue, Saptha or Saptah, Dedan, and the country of the Sabæi, whose metropolis was the great city Saba. All these places preserved very striking footsteps of the names of the first planters of those two provinces or kingdoms. However, it seems most probable, for the reasons already given, that most of the Cushites made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be observed, that the Arab writers take little or no notice of themⁱ.

Casûhhim,
Caphtorim,
Ehorites,

The Casûhhim, Caphtorim, and Ehorites, occupying the hilly district about Mount Seir, though very ancient, never made any considerable figure. The posterity of Edom, who, after their excision, seized upon the tract they inhabited, in process of time intermixing with the proper Arabs, formed one people with them; but neither do the present Arabs esteem Esau or Edom as one of the real founders of their nation.

We have already observed, that the Arraceni and Saraceni of the ancients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted but that the Arra of Pliny and Ptolemy was the capital of the region they inhabited, and furnished the appellation they went under. Strabo, describing Ælius Gallus's expedition into Arabia, intimates, that the province of Ararena was thirty days journey from Petra, and fifty from the city of the Negrani, or Nagara Metropolis of Ptolemy, i. e. the modern Nag'ran; that it was for the most part desert, and inhabited by the Nomades, or Arabes Scenitæ; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathless region, interspersed in some parts with palm-trees: all which particulars, as well as the name itself, clearly evince this province to be the country of the Arraceni or Saraceni, which had the Arra for its capital city. From several circumstances in the description of the expeditions into Arabia, made by Trajan and Severus, to be found in Dio, it appears, that the Arraceni or Saraceni were likewise sometimes in the East denominated Agarcni, and their chief town Arra, Atra, or, as Herodian calls it, Atræ. It is therefore highly probable, that the ancient Saracens were styled Hagarenes, either from the nature of the tract they inhabited, or from Hagar the mother of Ishmael^k.

ⁱ Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Phot. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi sup. Hyde. Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 37, & alib. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 9. Cl. Gagn. Diatrib. sect. 4. ^k Plin. lib. vi. cap. 28. Ptol. in Arab. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 781. Dio, lib. lxxviii. p. 785. E. lib. lxxviii. p. 855. Herodian. lib. iii. cap. 28. Edit. Oxon. 1678. ^l Gagn. Ant. lib. iii. cap. 74.

In order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that Stephanus mentions a country called Saraca, inhabited by the Saraceni, as contiguous to that of the Nabathæans. The Arab writer Yākūt also describes the town 'Al-'Arakh, seated on Agja, one of the two celebrated mountains of the Taïtes, or the tribe of Taï, the Taueni of Pliny, and Taïvoï, Taini, of Bardefanes in Eusebius, who joins them with the Saracens. From hence, in conjunction with the reasons alleged by the learned M. Gagnier, we may conclude, that Pliny called this nation Arraceui; and that Dioscorides was the first of the ancients now extant who prefixed to that word the hissing letter S, as has been determined by Salmassius¹.

The Jerusalem Targum takes the names Ishmaelites and Saracens to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the same nation. This not only included the Arabes Scenitæ, bordering upon Palæstine, Syria, and Chaldæa, but likewise those separated by the Red Sea from Ethiopia; all of whom we find in Scripture under the general name of Arabians^m.

If we follow the Oriental writers, we must divide the Arabs into two classes, the old lost Arabians, and the present. The most famous tribes amongst the former were Ad, Thamūd, Tāfīm, Jadīs, the first Jorham, Amalek, Amtem, Hāfsem, Abil, and Bar. Though these were very numerous, yet they are now either all destroyed, or lost and swallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them. As for the tradition subsisting among the modern Arabians, it is so interwoven with fable, and so replete with inconsistency, as to deserve no regard from the impartial and accurate historianⁿ.

Two classes of the Arabs.

According to their own historians, the present Arabs are sprung from two stocks, Kahtan, the same with Joktan the son of Eber, and Adnan descended in a direct line from Ishmael the son of Abraham and Hagar. The posterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba, i. e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al Mostāreba, i. e. naturalized, or insidious Arabs. The uncertainty of

The present Arabs descended from Kahtan and Joktan.

¹ Steph. Byzant. in voc. Σάρακκ. Ptol. ubi sup. Yakutus Geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. Plin. ubi sup. Bardefanes apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. p. 277. Vide etiam Hardouin. in Plin. ubi sup. Gagn. Quatr. sect. 9. & Salmass. in Exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. sub init. ^m Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. chap. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. chap. xvii. ver. 1. & chap. xxi. ver. 16. Isai. chap. xlii. ver. 20. Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 4. sub fin. ⁿ Greg. Abulf. p. 159. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 5. Jallalo'ddin. in Lib. Meftar. & Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 17. 39.

the descents between Ishmael and Adnan is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore regard as the father of their tribes; the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eastern writers scarce take any notice of Abraham's progeny by Keturah, though they undoubtedly made up a considerable part of the inhabitants of Arabia. Their names were Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian or Madian, Ishbak, and Shuah. Notwithstanding the Arabs affirm Ishmael's wife to have been a genuine Arabian; the Scripture says she was an Egyptian; a testimony which greatly invalidates the authority of their historians, except it should be admitted, that he had a second wife, or several at once. His sons were Nebaioth, Kedar, Adeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah; besides which he had a daughter called Mahalath and Bashemath, whom Edom took to wife. Some writers make Kahtan a descendant of Ishmael; but among the Orientals this is not the most received opinion. However, it agrees the best with the Chaldee and Arabic paraphrasts, who believed the name of Ishmaelites to be as general and extensive as that of Arabs.

Geographical
name of the
Scenite
Arabs.

We have already observed, that the customs, manners, and genius, of the Arabs, except in matters of religion, are in general the same at this day that they were betwixt three and four thousand years ago; and therefore we may presume, that the ancient and modern forms of government of this nation may be considered as agreeing in almost all particulars. The Arabes Scenitæ, therefore, as their successors the present Bedoweens, were governed by shekhs and emirs. The shekhs superintended only particular dow-wars, that is, collections of tents called *bhyas*, answering to villages or towns, already described. Every one of these dow-wars, therefore, might have been considered as a little principality, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greatest name, substance, and reputation, amongst the Arabs that composed it. The emirs or emeers, the phylarchs of the Greeks, ruled over a whole tribe, and consequently their authority extended to many of those dow-wars. It is probable, that they were sometimes dignified with the title of shekh al kibeer, as some of their successors are at this time. And lastly, from what has been observed of the phylarchs of the Nomades, agreeing in most

* Gen. ch. xxi. v. 31. ch. xxv. v. 1, &c. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jauhar, Al-Furushadi, Abulfed. Shahabuddin. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, Al-Bihar, Ptolemy, ubi supra, 49—51.

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points with the Arabes Scenitæ, we may conclude, that the emirs were under the government of one particular prince, who was the sovereign of these Arabs, or at least distinguished from the other emirs by the title of the grand emir, agreeable to the form of government still prevailing amongst the modern Bedoweens. However, we take this prince not to have been entirely despotic, but considered by his subjects only as their supreme magistrate, who maintained them in the possession of their particular laws, privileges, and customs ^p.

The Arabs that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the same manner as the Bedoweens. That several cities of Arabia Felix, particularly those of the Adramitæ or Chatramotitæ, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from Eratosthenes in Strabo. That author likewise informs us, that the order of succession in these cities was not hereditary, but that the first child born in any of the noble families after the king's accession was deemed the presumptive heir to the crown. As soon, therefore, as any prince ascended the throne, a list was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a son, who always received an education suitable to his high birth. However, Artemidorus in the same author intimates, that the Sabæan nation had only one sovereign; which manifestly implies, that all the petty princes or emirs above mentioned had a supreme head presiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here, as described by Artemidorus and Eratosthenes, seems confirmed by Scripture, when the psalmist mentions the kings of Arabia and Saba. The Arabians were, for some centuries, under the government of the descendants of Kâhtan; Yârab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham; another, that of Hejaz. The kings of Hamyar, who possessed the kingdom of Yaman, or at least the greater part of it, had the general title of Tobba, which signifies *successor*, and was affected by these princes, as that of Cæsar was by the Roman emperors, and khalif by the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes, who reigned in other parts of Yaman, mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they denominate the Great King; but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. "May you avert all malediction," or, "May God be propitious to

*Of those
that dwell
in cities
and towns.*

^p Shaw, ubi supra, p. 286, 287, 298, 300, 310. Appian. in lib. byc. 67. Les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Arabes, p. 215, 216, 2 Paris, 1717.

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you." was the form in which the ancient Arabs used to address themselves to their king ⁹.

Laws of the Arabs.

The principal civil institutions among the Arabs, that seemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That establishing the above mentioned order of succession. 2. That in force among the Sabæans, whereby the king was solemnly invested with his prerogative by an assembly of the people. 3. That enjoining the said king never to leave his palace after he had taken upon him the reins of government. 4. That commanding his subjects to stone him to death, in case he should be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an absolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, consistent with the aforesaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the Arabs observed may be considered as coinciding with their customs, there is no necessity of dwelling upon them here ¹.

Religion.

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the *state of ignorance*, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost over-run the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, amongst them. The idolatry of the Arabs, as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they implored; as their mediators with God; for they acknowledged one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, whom they called Allah Taala, *the most high God*; and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they styled simply Al Ilahât, i. e. *the goddesses* ².

Idolatry of the Arabs Sabians.

That the Arabs should easily be led into the worship of the stars, is not at all surprising, since, by observing the changes of the weather to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them for a considerable period, they might easily be induced to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country. Hence it came to pass, that they had seven celebrated temples dedicated to the seven planets; one of these, in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of Al Zo-

¹ Eratosthenes & Artemidorus apud Strabon. lib. xvi. Vers. Septuag. in Psal. lxxii. ver. 10. Al-Motarezzi in lib. Mogreb. Al-Jaharius, Abulfeda, Ebn al Athir, & Al-Firauzabadus apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 65, 66. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. ² Eratosthenes apud Strabon. ubi sup. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. ³ Pocock. Not. ad Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 238. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum. p. 231. Maimonid. in Moreh. Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29. Hottingeri Hist. Orient. lib. iv. cap. 8. Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 112. Prideaux in Connect. p. i. b. iii.

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harah, or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the khalif Othman. The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal, or Saturn. That planetary worship was the first species of idolatry, we have already observed; and therefore it is no wonder the Arabs, at present the most ancient nation in the world, should have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we shall here add the testimony of Pausanias, who intimates, that the worship of the planets was earlier than the first arrival of the Pelasgi in Greece; and that before this time they had statues erected to their honour¹.

But, besides those stars which were the general objects of worship throughout Arabia, there were some more peculiarly revered in particular provinces. Thus the Hamyarites chiefly worshiped the Sun; Misam, Al Debaran, or the Bull's Eye; Lakhm and Jodam, Al Moshitari, or Jupiter; Tay, Sohail, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius, or the Dog-star; and Asad, Otared, or Mercury. Abu Cabsha, a worshiper of Sirius, whom some insist to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather on the mother's side, though others make him of the tribe of Khozaah, used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to abandon their images, and worship this star. For which reason, when Mohammed endeavoured also to reclaim them from image-worship, they nick-named him the son of Abu Cabsha. However, the Arabs, together with the Indians in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed stars than to the planets; a peculiarity which distinguished the Sabians amongst them from those amongst the Greeks, who directed their worship to the planets. The Arabs did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed stars, but likewise their winds, storms, tempests, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in the atmosphere².

Worship the fixed stars, as well as the planets.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshiped, we find only three mentioned in the Koran, namely, Allat, Al-Uzza, and Manah; these they called Goddesses, and the Daughters of God; an appellation they bestowed not only on angels, but also on their images, which they believed either to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, because they believed them to intercede for their votaries with God. The Arab Sabians likewise, in common with those of other nations,

As likewise angels, or intelligences.

¹ Poc. ubi supra, p. 163. Al-Jannabi. Shahrestani. Pausan. Læconic. p. 202.

² Abulfaragius, ubi supra, p. 160. Al Shahrestani. Abulfed. Al Janharius, Ebneol Athir. & Al Firauzabadi. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 163, 164. ut et ipse Pocock. p. 113.

imagined,

imagined, that the sun, moon, and fixed stars, were inhabited by intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body is animated by the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between God and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as gods mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshiped them by their tabernacles, i. e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this inconvenience, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and therefore that all addresses were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image-worship. All other material particulars relating to the Sabians, omitted here, will either be found in the note (M), or a former part of this history *.

Allat,

* Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. liii. Poc. p. 138. Gol. Maimonid. Hotting. Hyde, Prideaux, ubi supra. Shahrastanius apud Hyde, cap. 5. p. 124. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 726. Housain Vaez Comment. Perf. in Al-Koran, cap. 2. Lib. Phar. GJ. apud Hyd. ubi sup. Kalkashend. apud Hyde, ubi supra, p. 125. Ebn Al Athir apud Pocockium, p. 138, 139.

(M) We find no religion, except the Sabian, Jewish, and Christian, tolerated by the Koran. The eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best authors. The Sabians produce many strong arguments for the unity of God, and address themselves to Him in the following terms: "I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! I dedicate myself to thy service, O God! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion, of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his." From whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be sui juris,

though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, "who was also formerly often put off with the least portion," as Mohammed upbraids them. The reason assigned by the Arabs for this was, that the idol wanted what was God's, but God himself wanted nothing. A sort of baptism they admit, and profess a great veneration for St. John Baptist, styling themselves, in their language, which is composed of the Chaldee and Syriac, Mendai Jahia, i. e. *Disciples of St. John*; and by this name they are known amongst the Christians of the Levant. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they

Allat, whom some of the Arabs called Allah, was the idol of the tribe of Thakif, who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Naklah *.

Al-

* Abulfarag. p. 160. Poc. ubi supra, p. 90.

they read, they have another supposed to have been written by Adam. The language of these books, which they regard as their Bible, almost entirely agrees with the Chaldee; but the characters differ from those of all other nations. Ebn Shonah makes them the descendants of the most ancient people in the world, and intimates, that, besides the books just mentioned, they have others esteemed equally sacred, particularly one full of moral discourses, denominated by them the Book of Seth and Enoch, or, as they call him, Edris. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, seven times a day. The first prayer begins half an hour, or less, before sun-rising; and is so ordered, that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations: the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in repeating which they perform five such adorations as the former: and the same they do the third time, concluding just as the sun sets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlic, and some other pulse and vegetables. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly dif-

fer; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great veneration for the temple of Mecca, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe Sabi or Sabius, the founder of their sect, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to Harran, either out of regard to the memory of Abraham, or of Sabi Ebn Mari, who lived in Abraham's time, and is regarded by some as the first propagator of their religion. Ebn Hazem asserts Sabianism to have been the universal religion till the age of Abraham, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to Al-Sharestani, the Sabians say, that the difference betwixt them and the Mohammedans consists in this, that, among creatures, they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the Mohammedans choose to pay the greatest honour to *body and matter*, i. e. *men*; as patriarchs, &c. Housfain Vaez, in his Persian commentary on the Koran, says, that they were a sort of Sadducees, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that, at the pyramids, they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. Ebn Khalecan, in his life of Ibrahim al Sabi, affirms, that the Sabians are as ancient as the Magians, but different from them;

Al-Uzza.

Al-Uzza, or Al-Qzza, was the idol of the tribes of Koreish and Kenanah, and part of the tribe of Salim, as some affirm; but others assert it to have been a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfan, and first consecrated by Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it named Bofs, so contrived as to give a found when any one entered. When Khâled Ebn Walid, by Mohammed's order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the

them; however, that both pretended to deduce their origin from Abraham, whom they confounded with Zerdusht. The same author relates, that the word Sabi in the Arabic tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the Koreish, by way of reproach, called Mohammed Sabi or Sabian. The eastern Christians scruple not to affirm, that Constantine the Great himself professed Sabianism before he became a convert to Christianity. Sharefani divides the Sabians into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that God created the world; but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that, by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents animating them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for nine thousand ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exalta-

tions of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters Aries, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from Noah himself. The Sabians of mount Lebanon seem to pay a greater regard to Seth than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in thirty-six thousand four hundred and twenty-five years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; God they call God of gods, and Lord of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars, gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of Sabians from the above mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from *שבי* *Saba*, or *Tsaba*, the host of heaven, which they worship. Before the growth of Christianity and Mohammedanism, the greatest part of the world professed the Sabian religion (1).

(1) D'Herbel. *Præf. ad. Gol. Hyd. Hotting.* alique auctor. hic laudat.

image, or tree, and slain the priestess of Al Uzza, Mohammed, alluding to the death of the priestess, said, she was Al-Uzza, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name Uzza is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty*^r.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâh, possibly the Cassanites of Ptolemy, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say, of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakif also. Dr. Pococke renders it highly probable, that the Manah of the Arabs was the Meni of the prophet Isaiah. This idol was a large stone, demolished by Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from *mana*, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity or intelligence it represented. Hence the valley of Mina, near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this time slay their sacrifices. Some take Meni, or Manah, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word Manah in the Arabic tongue^z.

Besides these, we find five antediluvian idols described by the Arabian writers; namely, Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yâûk, and Nafr. These are said to have been men of great reputation and piety, whose statues the Arabs at first revered with a civil honour only, which in process of time was heightened into worship^a.

Wadd was supposed to represent heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb, in Dawmat al Jandal.

Sawâ was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol, lying under water some time after the deluge, was at length, according to the Arab writers, discovered by the devil, and worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it.

Yaghûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and received divine honours from the tribe of Madhaj, and others, who dwelt in Yaman. Its name seems to be derived from *ghathah*, which signifies to help.

Yâûk the tribe of Morâd esteemed as their proper object of worship, or, according to others, that of Hamadan, under the figure of a horse. The name Yâûk probably comes from their verb *âka*, to prevent, or avert^b.

^r Al-Juhar. Al-Shahrestan. & Al-Firauzabadi apud Pocock. ibid.

^z Al-Jauhar, Al-Beidawi, Al-Shahrest. Abulfed. Al-Zamakhshari, & Al-Firauzabadi.

^a Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 71.

^b Poc. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. 101, 338, 389, 390.

Nasr.

Nasr seems to have been the deity of the tribe of Hamyar, whom we consider either as the Homeritæ or Hamiræi of Pliny. He is said to have been adored at Dhû'l Khalaah in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

Sakia, Hafedha, Razeka, and Salema.

The four deities. Sakia, Hafedha, Razeka, and Salema, were peculiar to the tribe of Ad. The first supplied them with rain, the second preserved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their sustenance, and the fourth restored them to health when afflicted with sickness; according to the signification of their several names. To these may be added Al-Daizan, or Saturn, a most ancient Arab idol, Hhethar, Al Auf, &c. mentioned by Al Jauharius, Al Firauzabadi, and others^c.

Jupiter Ammon and Bacchus worshipped by the Arabs.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly celebrated for their conquests, it is no wonder the Arabs, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir Isaac Newton takes hero-worship, or the worship of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of Sefac, the great Egyptian conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he subdued, and amongst the rest some of the Arabians at least, to pay divine honours to his father Ammon, under the name of Jupiter, or Jupiter Ammon. This therefore was the great hero god of the Arabs, as well as of the Egyptians, Garamantes, Ethiopians, and Indians; and his son and successor, Sefac, who enjoined this worship, the Bacchus, according to Sir Isaac Newton, of the ancients, little inferior to him. The Arabs, it is probable, erected oracles to Ammon, who reduced part of their country, as well as the Libyans and Egyptians: and Sefac, on account of his having coasted Arabia Felix, sailed to the Persian gulph, penetrated afterwards into India, where he reared two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the Ganges, and another at Dire, a promontory of Ethiopia, was esteemed as his father's colleague in Arabia, as well as the other regions subjugated by him.

Have a great variety of idols.

Besides the idols already mentioned, the Arabs worshipped many others, the chief of whom was Hobal, brought from Beika in Syria to Arabia by Amr Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to Saffioddin, Hobal was placed without the Caaba, under the figure of a man. His statue was made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Ko-

^c Abulfed. & Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in art. Houd.

reish repaired it with one of gold; he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abraham, found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he reduced Mecca. That image was surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Ishmael, with divining arrows in his hand. Hobal, according to Al Jannabius, was the chief of three hundred and sixty idols, one of which the Arabs might, if they thought proper, worship every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the Caaba there was a wooden pigeon, as likewise another above, to destroy which Mohammed lifted Ali upon his shoulders. Afaf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on Mount Safa, and the other on Mount Merwa. They pretend that Afaf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahal, both of the tribe of Jorham, who, committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into stone, and afterwards worshipped by the Koreish, and so much revered by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of the divine justice. The idols Saad, an oblong stone on the shore near Giodda, Soair or Sair worshipped by the tribe of Anza; Aud, adored by the tribe of Becr Wayel; Nasib or Nofb, Al Sharek, and Dar, from whence the Arab names Abdol Sharek and Abdol Dar were derived, merit little regard. Nor have we much to say of Madan, Yalil, Awal, peculiar to the tribes of Becr and Taglab; Dul Caffain, the deity of the tribe of Daus; Bajar or Bajer, that of the tribe of Azd; Al Okaifar, worshipped in the eastern part of Syria; Bag or Bagh, from whence Abulfeda deduces the name of the city Baghdad; Al Chalafah, Dushshara, the Dyfares of the Greeks and Romans. Besides these, according to the Oriental authors, every housekeeper had his household god, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home^d.

Several of the Arab idols, besides Saad above mentioned, and Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ishmael first introduced, according to Al Jannabius. It seems most pro-

Some of these idols stones.

^d Abulfed. Al-Shahrestan. Safioddin. Al-Mosatraf. Vide etiam Pocock. ubi sup. p. 95, 97, 98. Ebn. Al-Athir. Al-Jannabius. Al-Kor. Mohammed, cap. 2.

bable to us, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship amongst the Arabs, on which they poured wine and oil, as Jacob did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw his vision. Some authors relate, that when the territory of Mecca became too confined for the Ishmaelites, so that great numbers found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed from Mecca took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to go round the Caaba; but this ceremony at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ishmaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of Hanifah, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled by famine.

*Magian
religion in
Arabia.*

The Persians, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim, a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with it, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it. The professors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by God, as their successors do at present: but being at a loss otherwise to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles. The first they supposed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be represented by light and darkness, as their truest symbols; and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good principle or God they named Yezad or Yezdan, and Ormozd or Hormizda, which the Greeks wrote Oromazes; and the evil dæmon they called Ahariman or Ahriman, and the Greeks Arimanius. Though one sect of the Magi asserted, as the Manichæans and other heretics did, both those principles to have existed from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or God only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from Zoroaster's description of the Supreme Being. Amongst other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter instigating them to all kinds of wickedness. They also believed that the wicked angels, after they had seduced men from the paths

of Al-Jauhar. Al-Beidawi, & Al-Zamakhshari. Al-Mostatraf. Al-Jauharius apud Pocock. p. 119.

of virtue, became the instruments of their punishment; and that these angels were continually meditating the ruin and destruction of mankind.

Some of the Pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were those who, when they died, had each his camel tied by his sepulchre, and so left without meat or drink to perish, and accompany him to the other world, lest he should be obliged, at the resurrection to go on foot; a method of travelling which was counted disgraceful. Some believed a metempsychosis; and that of the blood near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hamah, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others affirm, that this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries *af'ûni, af'ûni*, i. e. *give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. Some of the ancient Arabs seem to have been addicted to augury,* since they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended something bad. The camel just mentioned furnished the Arabs with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miserable end. Those who expected a future judgment adored idols, as they pretended that the heroes or deities they represented might be induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from some passages of the Koran, and the commentators on those passages, that the ancient Arabs, under the word Jin or Genii, comprehended angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate species of rational invisible beings going among the present Orientals by the same name. From the same passages and commentators we may likewise infer, that most of the Arabians before Mohammed's time, in conformity to the Sabian scheme, paid religious honours to these Genii. The Mohammedans call the evil principle of the Magi the Satan of the Scripture, and Sammael of the Jews, Eblis, which seems to be a corruption of the Διάβολος or Diabolus of the New Testament†.

Abu Carb Afad, king of Yaman, about seven hundred years before Mohammed, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. The Jews likewise, who fled in great numbers into Arabia after the destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes.

† Al-Shahrestani. Al-Jauhari. Ebn al Athir. Al-Damirius. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 134—136. Al-Kor. Mohammed, cap. 6, 7, 72, & alib.

The notions some of the Arabs had of a future state.

The Jewish religion embraced by some of the Arab tribes.

tribes, those of Kenanah, Al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kenadah, in particular. In time they became very powerful, and possessed themselves of several towns and fortresses. At last Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowas, king of Yaman, having raised a horrid persecution against all who would not embrace the Jewish religion, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, from whence the Arabs gave him the opprobrious title of the Lord of the Pit; Calch or Elefbaan, king of Ethiopia, to revenge the massacre of the Christians at Najran, put an end to Judaism and the kingdom of the Hamyarites in Yaman, at the same time. This event happened in the reign of the emperor Justin, and will be more fully noted in the following section^s.

*and likewise
Christianity.*

Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the Christian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a dispute. The Arabians we find ranked amongst those nations, some of whose members first had the happiness of being made converts to Christianity, several of them being present when the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles. When the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly lacerated by disorders and persecutions, great numbers of Christians sought shelter in Arabia; who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs. The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were Hamyar, Ghassan, Rabia, Taghlah, Bahra, Tonuch, part of those of Tay and Kodaa, the inhabitants of Najran, and the Arabs of Hira. The people of Najran became converts to Christianity in the time of Dhu Nowas above mentioned, and those of Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of that prince. How Al-Nooman, surnamed Abu-Kabus, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mahommed's birth, came to profess himself a Christian, and reclaimed from Paganism the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to Abulfeda, his grandfather Mondar embraced Christianity, and built several churches for the Christians in Hira. Sáfíeddin says, that Najran was a bishop's see, and remarkable for having a Christian church in early times. From Shahrestani we learn, that Mondar, king of the Arabs, declared war against the emperor Justinian, because he had ill-treated

^s Metaphrastes apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936. & alib. Niceph. Gallist. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

those who asserted only one nature in Christ, since the Arab Christians at that time were of the Jacobite persuasion. This is a sufficient proof, that Christianity had got footing in Arabia before the reign of that prince. The Jacobites insist, and M. Asseman thinks it probable, that the Syrian bishop Jacobus Baradæus, who, according to Abul-Farajius, visited all the regions adjacent to Syria, and ordained there bishops, and presbyters of the Jacobite sect, first infected the Arabian Christians with Monophysism.

It is natural to suppose, that as the Christians were so numerous in Arabia before the age of Mahommed; they had several bishops there, when that impostor first began to form a new system of religion. Accordingly we find, that the Jacobites had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafrian, or metropolitan of the East. One of these was styled absolutely the bishop of the Arabs, whose residence was chiefly at Akula, which some authors make the same with Cufa, others a different town near Baghdad. The other had the title of the bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalah in Hira or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, and seated in that city. Gregentius, who held a famous dispute sub dio for three days with Herbanus the Jew, before the king of Hamyar, was bishop or archbishop of Dha-far or Tephra, as it is called by the Greek authors, in the century preceding Mahommed; and that Najran also was a bishop's see at the same time, has been already observed from Saffoddin. We find likewise a prelate of this country styled the bishop of the Tayites, though the extent and limits of his diocese cannot so easily be defined. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both the dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch. Arabia was in the earliest ages remarkable for heresies, which Mr. Sale says might in some measure be attributed to the liberty and independence of its tribes^b.

Before we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions of the ancient Arabs, we must observe, that some of them attributed a power to the fixed stars superior to what even the Sabians themselves allowed; inasmuch that they would not take the least step without receiving a favourable omen from them; several also not only worshipped dæmons or genii, but likewise asserted them to be the daughters of God. The Korcish were infected with Zendicism, an error nearly related to that of the Sadducees

*Bishopricks
in Arabia.*

*Other sects
in Arabia
different
from those
already
mentioned.*

^b Saffoddin. apud Pocockium, ubi supra. Abul Faraj in Chron. Syriac. MS. Abulfeda in Descript. Itacæ. Asseman Hist. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii. in Dissert. de Monophysit. p. 455. Sale's Prelimin. Discour. sect. 2. p. 34, 35.

among the Jews. We are told, that several of this tribe worshipped one God, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of Mahommed ¹.

Language.

As the Arabs make one of the most ancient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at present possess almost from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being subjugated by any foreign power, their language must have been formed soon after, if not at the confusion of Babel. The two principal dialects were that spoken by the Hamyarites and other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish, in which Mahommed wrote the Koran. The first is styled by the Oriental writers the Arabic of Hamyar, and the other the pure or defecated. As Yarab, grandfather to Hamyar, is supposed by the Oriental writers to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic, the Hamyaritic dialect, according to them, must have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, and consequently have been more remote from the true genius of the Arabic, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the Koreish, termed by the Koran the perspicuous and clear Arabic, is referred to Ishmael as its author, who, say the above mentioned writers, first spoke it, and, as Dr. Pococke believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of Jorham by marriage, formed it of their language and the original Hebrew. As therefore the Hamyaritic dialect partook principally of the Syriac, so that of the Koreish was supposed to consist chiefly of the Hebrew: but, according to Jallalo'ddin, the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remotest antiquity, the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca the center of Arabia: for by this situation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourse with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewise frequented by the Arabs of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabs are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expressive, and, as they say, so immensely copious, that no man uninspired can be a perfect master of it, in its utmost extent. How much it is superior to the Greek and Latin tongues in this particular, in

¹ Shahrastani. Al-Kor. Mahom. cap. vi. Al-Mosfatraf. apud Pocockium, p. 236. Reland. de Relig. Mahomm. p. 270.

some measure appears from hence, that sometimes a bare enumeration of the Arabic names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a considerable volume. Thus we are told, that Ebn Khalawih, one of the most learned of the Arab grammarians, wrote a whole treatise, which consisted entirely of an interpretation of five hundred words signifying a lion; and another whose only subject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a serpent. Mahommedes Al Firauzabadius, author of the great Arabic lexicon called *Kamus*, or the Ocean, relates, that he composed a piece, containing a description of the nature and advantages of honey, together with an explication of eighty different terms expressive of it; and yet that it had several other names: he likewise mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thousand words denoting only a sword. Notwithstanding which, the Arabs believe the greatest part of their language to be lost; an opinion which will not seem improbable, when we consider how late the art of writing became generally practised among them: for though it was known to Job, their countryman, to the Edomites, as well as the other Arabian nations bordering upon Egypt and Phœnicia, and to the Hamyarites many centuries before Mahommed, as appears from some ancient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, unless such as were either Jews or Christians, were to the time of Moramer altogether ignorant of it. It was the ancient Arabic language preceding the reign of Justinian which so nearly resembled the Ethiopic; for since that time, and especially since the age of Mahommed, all the Arabic dialects have been greatly corrupted. This is now the learned language of the Mahomedans, who study it as the European Christians do the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin *.

A very great affinity between the ancient and modern Arabic must, however, be allowed; so great an affinity, that in substance we may pronounce them the same. Many considerable advantages flow from a knowledge of the Arabic tongue, all which may be considered as so many inducements to study it: but amongst these, the chief seems to be, an investigation of the true meaning of many Hebrew words, whose radices cannot be discovered in the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, though they are still preserved in the Arabic.

A great affinity between the ancient and modern Arabic.

* Pocock, ubi supra, p. 150—154. Jallalo'ddin. in lib. Mezhar. cap. i. p. 9, 22, 27. Al-Jauharicus & Moham. Al Firauzabad. apud Pocock, ubi sup. Job, chap. xix. ver. 23, 24. Job Ludolf, in Comm. ad Hist. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 17 p. 19. p. 60.

Letters.

We have just observed, that the Hamyarites were not strangers to the art of writing. The character used by them, the most ancient of any peculiar to the Arabs, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, went by the appellation of Al Mofnad, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used, without permission. Moramer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irak, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the present Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian, who married the sister of Abu Sofian, is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca, only a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. In Mohammed's time the Morameric alphabet had made so small a progress, that no one in Yaman could either write or read it; even Mohammed himself was incapable of doing either; for which reason he was called the Illiterate Prophet. According to Khalican, the present Arabic character was first formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, wazir, or vizir, to Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Al Radi, khalifs of Baghdad, who lived about three hundred years after Mohammed; and brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowah, who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account. The most remarkable specimens of the Cufic character, so denominated from Cufa, a city of Irak, where some of the first copies of the Koran were written, are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from Egypt by Mr. Greaves; some other fragments of the same book in it, published by Sir John Chardin; certain passages of a MS. in the Bodleian library; the legends on several Saracenic coins dug up about fifty years ago on the coast of the Baltic, not far from Dantzick; and, according to Mr. professor Hunt, those noble remains of it that are, or were lately to be seen, in Mr. Joseph Ames's valuable collection of antique curiosities. As to the true origin of the ancient and modern Arabic alphabets, we must confess ourselves much in the dark¹.

Ancient and modern alphabets.

We shall here insert both the ancient and modern Arabic alphabets, together with that of the African Saracens published by Kircher, which seems to be the old Hamyaritic character mentioned by Al Firauzabadius, Al Jannabius, Ebn Khalican, and Georgius Ebn Amid, under the title of Al Mofnad.

¹ Ebn Khalican. Ebn Hassem. Al Firauzabadius. Al Jannabius. Georg. Ebn Amid. Job xix. 23, 24. Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. Chardin's Travels, vol. iiii p. 119. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. Gravius apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 158.

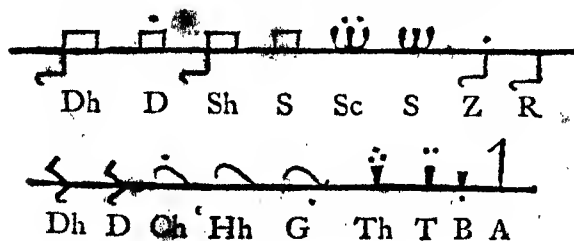
The Modern Arabic Alphabet.

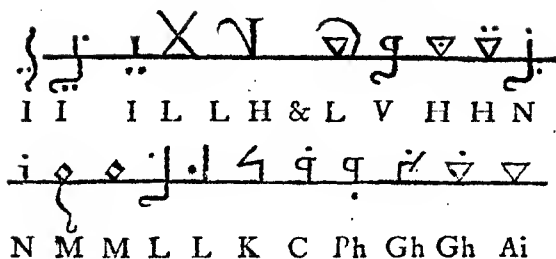
Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1	A or E.	Elif.	ا	ا	ا	ا
2	B.	Be.	ب	ب	ب	ب
3	T.	Te.	ت	ت	ت	ت
4	T, blæse, or lisping.	Thse.	ث	ث	ث	ث
5	G.	Gjim.	ج	ج	ج	ج
6	Hh.	Hha.	ح	ح	ح	ح
7	Ch.	Cha.	خ	خ	خ	خ
8	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9	D, blæse, or lisping.	Dhsal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12	S.	Sin.	س	س	س	س
13	Sj.	Sjin.	ش	ش	ش	ش
14	S.	Sad.	ص	ص	ص	ص
15	D.	Dad.	ض	ض	ض	ض
16	T.	Ta.	ط	ط	ط	ط
17	D.	Da.	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
18	The Hebrew y.	Ain.	ع	ع	ع	ع
19	G Latin.	Gain.	غ	غ	غ	غ
20	F.	Fe.	ف	ف	ف	ف
21	K.	Kaf.	ق	ق	ق	ق
22	C.	Kef.	ك	ك	ك	ك
23	L.	Lam.	ل	ل	ل	ل
24	M.	Mim.	م	م	م	م
25	N.	Nun.	ن	ن	ن	ن
26	W.	Waw.	و	و	و	و
27	H.	He.	ه	ه	ه	ه
28	I.	Ie.	ي	ي	ي	ي

The Old Arabic Alphabet.

ا	ا	Elif.	ل	ل	Lam.
ب	ب	Be.	م	م	Mem.
ج	ج	Gain.	ن	ن	Nun.
د	د	Dal.	س	س	Sad.
ذ	ذ	Dfal.	ع	ع	Ain.
ه	ه	He.	و	و	Waw.
ز	ز	Gim.	ف	ف	Fe.
ح	ح	Hha.	ق	ق	Kaf.
ط	ط	Ta.	ر	ر	Re.
ي	ي	Ye.	ش	ش	Sin.
ك	ك	Caf.	ص	ص	Shin.
			ض	ض	Te.

The African Saracenic Alphabet, probably the same as the Ancient Hamyaritic, given us by Kircher.





Though by far the greater part of the Arabs before Mohammed could neither read nor write; yet several of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue. Herein they exercised themselves by composing orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical and prosaic. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able in an assembly to persuade the people to a great enterprize, or dissuade them from a dangerous undertaking, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khateb or Orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. From what we find in several authors, they pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connexion; so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the roundness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings (T).

The learning, &c. of the ancient Arabs.

So

(T) Since we are speaking of the Arab literature, our readers will expect some account of the fabulist Lokman, so famous all over the East. Lokman, surnamed Al Hakim, i. e. the Wise, or the Sage, according to Saddy, Akramas, and Schaab, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by succession, he having been the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of Job. The author of Talaasir makes him the son of Baura, or Bêor, the son of Nahor, the son of Terah, and consequently related to Abraham. Abouleits gives Lokman the surname of Aghou Anam,

i. e. the Father of Anam; though others call his son Mathan. The author of the book intitled Ain al Mâni says, he was born in the time of David, and lived till the age of Jonah; but this exceeds all belief. According to the description of his person by the Arab writers, he must have been much deformed; for they say he was an Ethiopian or Nubian slave, and consequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and broad feet. But, to balance those defects, he received from God wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his

So persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves and the Persians; which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians. Two of the ancient Arabs, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were Kofs and Sabban, of the tribe of Wayer. Hence came the proverbs,

his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Mohammedans, therefore, contend that he was no prophet, but only a sage or wise man. Others relate, that when God, in order to reward his transcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he chose rather to remain in the condition of a slave, though with an entire resignation to the divine will, begging that God would enable him to execute all his orders, in case he thought proper to fix him in so sublime a post. This, continue the same authors, so exceedingly pleased God, that he made him superior to all other men in wisdom; inasmuch that he wrote ten thousand proverbs and fables for the instruction of mankind. From several authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of David and Solomon, and that he was an Ethiopian by birth, sold to the Israelites, but by religion a Jew. The author of *Tarikh Montakhab* affirms, that the sepulchre of Lokman was to be seen in his time at Ramlah or Ramah, near Jerusalem; and that he was interred near seventy prophets, who had been starved by the Jews, and all died in one day. He is said to have obtained his liberty on the

following occasion: his master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such implicit obedience as to eat it all; at which his master being surprised, asked him, How he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, It was no wonder, that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand, from which he had received so many favours. Our readers will naturally observe, that Lokman, who lived in the time of the prophet Hud, or Heber, could not be the same person with the fabulist here mentioned.

As most of the particulars relating to the person of Lokman here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the Koran, agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of *Æsop*, these two sages are generally thought to have been the same person. The great resemblance the fables of Lockman bear to those of *Æsop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of *Æsop* from the traditions he met with in the East concerning Lokman, and concluded these two persons to have been the same from the circumstances above mentioned (1).

(1) Var. Auctor. apud D'Herbelot, in Art. Lokman.

More expert in the art of speaking than Kofs," and "More eloquent than Sabban." They seem to have been chiefly indebted to their poetry for the polishing, and even preservation, of their language, before the use of letters was introduced amongst them; for which reason their authors generally consider this and the study of their language together. In their poems, likewise, were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe; so that as soon as any person began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing, to the sound of timbrels, the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity. As the Arabs considered an elegant and instructive poem as the most sublime of all human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up among their poets; for which purpose, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at Ocadh, a place rendered famous on this account, where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize. The poems that were judged to excel, they laid up in their king's treasuries; such as the seven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallakat*, written on Egyptian silk, in letters of gold. On this account they had also the name of *Al Modhahabat*, or the *golden verses*. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation was made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they esteemed three points of great felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity among the Arabs, they did not at first write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Mohammed. The first author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or *Al-Kasidah*, was Mohalhel. According to *Al-Khalil*, there are fifteen different kinds of Arabic verse. Mohammed suppressed the fair and assembly at Ocadh, which occasioned poetry to decline in his time, and for some years after, the Arabs being then employed in extending their conquests; but upon the return of peace

this study was revived, and almost all sorts of learning were encouraged, and not a little improved ^m.

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the ancient Arabs.

Before we dismiss our present subject, it will be proper to take notice of some few particulars relating to the chronology of the Arabs. They divided the year into twelve months, whose ancient names were, 1. Mutemer. 2. Nagir. 3. Chavan. 4. Savan. 5. Ritma. 6. Ida. 7. Asam. 8. Adil. 9. Natil. 10. Vail. 11. Varna. 12. Burce. But Kelab, the son of Morrah, from whom Mohammed was lineally descended, having, from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old denominations in his time began to grow obsolete amongst the Korish; and afterwards, by the authority of Mohammed, when he had brought all the rest of the Arab tribes under his power, were totally abolished in every part of Arabia. The first day of Mutemer, or Muharram, being the first day of the year, was celebrated by the ancient kings of Yaman with great festivity and munificence, as it was likewise by the Persians and other eastern nations. The Arabians anciently divided the year also into six seasons: 1. The season of herbs and flowers. 2. Summer. 3. The hot season. 4. The season of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. The ancient Arab year was lunisolar; but the custom of intercalating months, in order to make the course of the moon agree with that of the sun, was abolished by Mohammed. The Arabs, like the Egyptians, Indians, Greeks, and Romans, anciently computed their time by weeks, or periods of seven days, as we learn from a very ancient Arab poet, who died many ages before the publication of the Koran. The old names of these days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. Euvel. 2. Bahun. 3. Gebar. 4. Debar. 5. Munis. 6. Aruha. 7. Xijar ⁿ.

The sciences they chiefly cultivated.

The sciences chiefly cultivated by the ancient Arabians were three; that of their history and genealogies; such a knowledge of the stars as to foretel the changes of weather; and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themselves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. Their knowledge of the stars was obtained from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical

^m Al Motárezzi, in Irb. Mogreb. Mohammed. Ebn Salain. Al-Jauhar. & Al-Firauzabad. apud Pocockium, p. 159—162. ut & ipse Pocockius, ibid.

ⁿ Gol. Not. ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. Mohammed, pass. Philos. Xirafit. Poet. antiquiss. apud Golium. ubi sup.

rules. The Arabians and Indians applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature. That the Arabs understood something of physic before the time of Mohammed, appears from hence, that the famous Arabian physician Al Harith Ebn Khalda, so celebrated amongst his countrymen, was older than that impostor. They seem to have made no farther progress in astronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with so much success, than to observe the influence of the stars upon the weather, and to give them names; a science the more obvious and natural to them, as they led a pastoral life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they bestowed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic. Oniromantic, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the Egyptians and Chaldeans; as likewise divination by arrows, and, as is probable, something of genethliacal astrology.

That some of the Arabs had a great degree of knowledge in several mechanical arts, appears from Strabo, who informs us, that the people of Tamma and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houses, built in the Egyptian taste. The same author likewise relates, that in Arabia Felix, besides the husbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongst others, those who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much used by the Arabs. They considered the exercise of arms and horsemanship as one of their principal accomplishments, being obliged to practise and encourage it, on account of the independency of their tribes, whose frequent disputes occasioned almost perpetual wars. Hence it became an usual saying amongst them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, namely, turbans instead of diadems, tents instead of walls and houses, swords instead of intrenchments, and poems instead of written laws. The principal arms used by the ancient Arabs were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad swords or scimeters.

They had some knowledge of the mechanical arts, &c.

With regard to the disposition of the ancient Arabs, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other na-

The disposition of the ancient Arabs.

* Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium, in Orat. ante Carmen. Tograi. p. 9. & Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 164. Al-jauhar. Al-Firauzabad. & Ebn al Athir, ibid. p. 163, 164. Hyde in Not. ad Tabulas Stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 31, 32. † Strabo, lib. xvi.

Arabs should have had such a genius for traffick, if their country produced such immense quantities of the most precious commodities, as some authors suggest. Balsam, cinnamon, and cassia, the Happy Arabia abounded with, as likewise myrrh, frankincense, and all the most noble spices and perfumes. Its inhabitants had likewise cattle sufficient to supply all their neighbours, and even many of the remoter nations: but, above all, the gold, which was the produce of this country, has been represented by Agatharchides and Strabo to be so plentiful as to exceed all belief. According to them, the Alilæi and Cassandrini, in the southern parts of Arabia, had gold in such quantities amongst them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver. In digging the earth they found some pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as large as olive-stones, others as big as medlars, and, lastly, others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to pass, that all the furniture of their houses, even their chairs, beds, cups, and vessels of all kinds, consisted of gold and silver; and, according to Agatharchides, they alone enriched Syria to a great degree under the Ptolemies, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the Phœnicians. Contiguous to the Alilæi and Cassandrini were the Dedebeæ or Debeæ, through whose country passed a river so abounding with particles of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it seemed to consist entirely of that metal. Diodorus relates, that this gold was of such a bright and glorious colour, that it added an exceeding lustre and beauty to the most valuable gems set in it. In short, continues the last author, Arabia Felix, at least the region of the Sabæi, was so immensely rich, that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there; all the commodities of Asia and Europe being brought thither, as to an universal mart: but notwithstanding the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, Strabo intimates, that Arabia was aggrandized solely by trade, and that in reality a great part of the riches, which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came from the Indies, and the coasts of Africa: for the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, industriously concealed the truth, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. Among other vessels the Arabs used on the Red Sea, to carry

carry on their commerce with Egypt and Ethiopia, were some made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that sea suggested to them.

Among the principal customs of the ancient Arabs, besides those contained under some of the former general heads, may be ranked the following :

1. The ancient Arabs used circumcision, either on the eighth day, according to Philostorgius, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when Ishmael was circumcised, as Josephus asserts. Al Gazalius intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumcision when all their teeth were completely formed, and Ebn al Athir, fixes the æra for this operation, betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which seems to correspond with what we find advanced by Josephus. The Arab writers affirm Mohammed to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings, which consisted of the intestines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *mos-wadd*. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one set out upon a journey, he observed the first bird he met with ; and, if it flew to the right, he pursued his journey ; but if to the left, he returned home. Some paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a person, distrusting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey, he tied together some of the bows of a tree called *al-ratam* ; and if, upon his return, he found them in the same position, he judged she had been faithful to him, otherwise not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we must refer our readers to Dr. Pococke's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*. All the species of augury and divination were forbid by Mohammed ; as likewise the plays of chess, dice, and cards, which in the Koran are comprehended under the name *Al Maifer*. 4. When a she-camel or ewe had brought forth twins ten times, she had an ear cut off, and was afterwards sent to graze at liberty ; but women were never permitted to taste of her flesh. 5. According to some authors, many of the idolatrous Koreish buried their daughters alive as soon as they were born, upon a mountain near Mecca, called *Abu Dalamah*. 6. It was not uncommon for an Arab to marry his father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldest son, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren ; but this the most virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and shocking crime, and styled the person guilty of it *Al Daizan*. 7. Some of them married two sisters ; a practice which Shahrestani condemns. 8. Most of them went a pilgrimage to the Caaba, observing some particular

*Customs of
the ancient
Arabs.*

particular ceremonies, which our readers will find described by Abulfeda. 9. The Caaba, their great temple or place of religious worship from the remotest antiquity, was their kebla, or place towards which they turned themselves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years consisting of lunar months, as already observed. 11. They frequently washed their mouths and nostrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other usages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right-hand. 13. They addressed themselves to their kings in these terms, "May you avert all malediction!" or, according to Dr. Pococke, in order to shew their profound respect and reverence for, as well as submission to his person, "He hath averted all malediction;" i. e. may God be propitious to you! or, may God prolong your life! This form of salutation was first used to Yarab the son of Kahtan, whose memory is held in great veneration by the Arabs to this day. 14. In Arabia Petræa a prince of one family, always governed, and was attended and served by a person styled the king's brother. 15. In Arabia Felix the king's brothers preceded his sons, and had greater respect shewn them, as being more advanced in years. 16. The Troglodytes, in the neighbourhood of Arabia, lived a pastoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by several tyrants, who had wives, whom their subjects were prohibited to lie with, under the penalty of a sloop. The women hung a fish-shell about their necks, which they believed to be a preservative against all kinds of fascination. 17. Strabo intimates, that there was but one wife in a family, amongst some tribes of the Arabs, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilst one was engaged with her, a staff was erected before the door of the tent, as a signal to be prevent another's approach: but the senior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they punished with death; but esteemed him only guilty of it, who was familiar with a woman of another tribe. 18. The Nabathæans were great œconomists, and therefore inflicted punishment publicly on such as squandered away their substance; but paid great respect to such as increased it. 19. As they had very few slaves among them, relations either served at meals, and on other occasions, or they assisted one another, or, lastly, served themselves; which usage likewise extended to their phylarchs. 20. At their feasts they generally admitted only thirteen persons; and had always two musicians to perform

form during the whole entertainment. 21. Their phylarchs had so little power, that they were almost upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inspected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in person to a public assembly of their respective tribes. 22. Their cities were not walled round, scarce any foreign invader ever attempting to disturb them. 23. It was a common practice among the Saracens or Scenite Arabs to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter greatly altered since the admission of divorces. 24. According to some authors, the ancient Arabs circumcised their daughters, as well as their sons. 25. When the Sabæans found themselves almost overcome by the strong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourse to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, set on fire under the nose of the patient. 26. They reaped twice a year, having two harvests, as well as the Indians and Ethiopians. 27. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers sitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppose the enemy both in rear and in front at the same time *.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Arabs to the Time of Mohammed.

JOKTAN the son of Eber, whom the Arabs call Kahtan, *Joktan and his family settle in Arabia soon after the confusion of languages;* had thirteen sons, who, some time after the confusion of languages at Babel, settled in Arabia, extending themselves from Mesha to Sephar, a mountainous district in the south-eastern part of that peninsula. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of Hadramaut and Shihr corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of Dhafar or Saphar, in which some traces of Moses's Sephar seem still to be preserved. The names of these thirteen planters were, Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimacl, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab.

* Agatharchid. Cnid. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. & lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xvi. Philostorg. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. Joseph. Antiquit. lib. i. cap. 23. Al Gazalius, & Ebn al Athir apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 319. Al-Zamakhshar. Al-Beidawi in cap. 5. Al-Koran. Mohammed. Al-Mostatraf. Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadus & Al Daminius apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 321, 322, 323, & seq.

As for Hadramaut, Seba, Ofir, and Kawilah, the sons of Kahtan, mentioned by M. D'Herbelot, they were undoubtedly the same with Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; as appears, not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed. According to Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Kahtan had thirty-one sons by the same wife, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia, went and settled in India. Yarab, the elder of those two, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, giving name, if we believe the Arab writers, both to their country and language. Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, where his posterity possessed the throne till the time of Ishmael. That Yarab and Jorham are the Jerah and Hadoram of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from insisting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the second king of Yaman was called Jerah or Yarcab, not Yarab; and consequently, that the peninsula of Arabia, and the Arabic tongue, could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the Arabs pretend: but whether Yarab or Jorham be the same persons with Jerah and Hadoram, we cannot infer from the disagreement betwixt their names, as M. Gagnier seems to have done, that every thing related by the Arabs of the former is a downright fiction: because, as their language differed gradually more and more from the Hebrew, the Arabs undoubtedly altered the most ancient proper names. Of this alteration Hazarmaveth and Hadramaut, Joktan and Kahtan, which confessedly denote the same persons, are a sufficient proof. Elmacinus says, that Kahtan was the father of the Arabs, and that he begat many children, who chose for their princes or leaders Saba, Ophir, and Gjawilah, i. e. Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah; an assertion which contradicts what we find advanced by Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Abulfeda, and others. And this disagreement between the most celebrated eastern writers, with regard to the first kings of Arabia, clearly evinces, that none of them, at least in this point, can be entirely depended upon^t.

as does
Ishmael the
son of
Abraham.

Ishmael, and his mother Hagar, having been dismissed by Abraham in the manner already related, retired into the wilderness of Paran, where they were supported by the divine favour and assistance. God had assured Hagar in

^t Abulfed. Hist. cap. 4. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 40. Gen. ch. x. v. 25—31. Safiuddin. in Lex Geographic. R. Saadias in Version. Arab. Pentat. Pocock. ubi supra, 40, 45, 78, 151. D'Herbel. Bibl. Oriental. art. Saba & Hegiaz. Gagn. in Diatrib. sect. 1, 2.

her distress, before the birth of Ishmael, that her son should be the father of a most numerous and potent nation; that he and his descendants should be wild, and live in a state of enmity with the rest of mankind; and yet that they should never be thoroughly subjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which most surprising prediction appears from the manner of life, disposition, power, and government of the Scenite Arabs, or, as they are frequently now styled, the Wild Arabs, from the age of Ishmael to the present time. For, from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus, to omit other ancient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have visited the countrys they inhabit, they now live in the same manner as their father Ishmael lived. Their disposition likewise is the same that it was predicted to be, and always has been; that is, their hand has been against every man, and consequently every man's hand against them; since they always have lived, and still do for the most part, by pillaging passengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or at least for any time continued in a state of servitude, as appears from all the principal ancient historians mentioning them, and their present almost absolute independence on the Turkish government.

Ishmael, as we learn from the sacred historian, resided in the wilderness of Paran, and married an Egyptian. In conformity to the divine prediction to Abraham, he had twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whose names we have already given. The Arab writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of Modad king of Hejaz, descended lineally from Jorham the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it may, he died at a hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of Egypt. As the Arabs have always considered him as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this opinion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may consider him and Joktan as the principal planters of Arabia. We must not imagine, however, that the Scenite Arabs were the only descendants of Ishmael, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since Moses gives us to understand, that some Ishmaelites had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to Ishmael, our readers may have recourse to the Jewish history ^b.

Ishmael forms an alliance with the Jorhamites by marriage.

The kingdom of Yaman, or at least the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was go-

^b Vide Pocock. Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 78, 79. Gen. chap. xxv. ver. 17. Abulfed. Al-Firauzabad. aliosque Scriptor. Arabic. Gen. chap. xxv. ver. 16.

verned by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, the son of Saba, the great-grandson of Kahtan, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendents of Cahlan his brother, who still retained the title of king of Hamyar. The Hamyarites were called Homerites by the later Greek and Latin authors, and Immirensians by Theodorus LeCtor; their princes had the general title of Tobba, which signifies *successor*, as the Egyptian kings had that of Pharaoh, the Roman emperors that of Cæsar, and the successors of Mohammed that of Khalif. Several inferior princes reigned in other parts of Yaman; but they were chiefly, if not entirely, subject to the king of Hamyar, who was styled the great king: but as history has recorded nothing of these reguli that deserves the least attention, we shall drop them, and immediately proceed to the series of the kings of Yaman or Hamyar ^c.

Kahtan.

1. Kahtan or Joktan, the son of Eber, is said to have first reigned, and worn a diadem, in Yaman; but how long he sat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no where learn ^d.

Yarab.

2. Yarab, the son of Kahtan, was a prince greatly celebrated by the Arab historians ^e.

Yashab.

3. Of Yashab, son to the preceding prince: nothing but the name survives.

Abd Shems.

4. Abd Shems, i. e. *the servant of the sun*, surnamed Saba, the son of Yashab, next ascended the throne, who was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off much spoil, and took many prisoners. He is said to have built the city of Saba or Mareb, as likewise that stupendous mound or bank which formed the vast reservoir above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of Yaman not only supplied the inhabitants of Saba and their lands with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe; since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. Abd Shems had many sons; but the most celebrated of them were Hamyar, Amru, Cahlan, and Ashaar ^f.

Hamyar.

5. Hamyar, the son of Abd Shems or Saba, according to the Oriental authors, was so called from the red cloaths he

^c Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius, Ebn Athir, Abulfed. Al-Jauhar. Sale, ubi supra, p. 9, 10. Vide etiam Asseman. Not. in Sim. Episc. Beth. Arsamenf. in Bibl. Orient. tom. i. ^d Abulfed. Hist. cap. 4. ^e Al-Motarezzi in lib. Mogr. Ahmed Ebn Yusef apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 40. Pocock. in Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, sub init. & alib. Ebn Shohnah. ^f Geogr. Nubienf. clim. ij. part 6. Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam Sale, ubi supra, p. 10.

wore. He expelled Thamud from Yaman, who took refuge in Hejaz. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of Hamyar deduced its name. Some assert, that not Kahtan, but Hamyar, was the first king of Yaman that wore a diadem.

6. Wayel, the son of Hamyar, according to Abulfeda, *Wayel*, succeeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother Cahlan his successor.

7. After Wayel reigned his son Alsafac.

Alsafac.

8. Yaafar, the son of Alsafac, next mounted the throne.

Yaafar.

9. He was succeeded by Dhu Riyash.

DhuRiyash.

10. After him Al Nooman, the son of Yaafar, swayed the sceptre of Yaman. *AlNooman.*

11. Then came Asmah, the son of Nooman.

Asmah.

12. Shaddad, the son of Ad, the son of Al Matata, the son of Saba, a very potent prince, succeeded Asmah. *Shaddad.*

13. Lokman, the brother of Shaddad, was the next king, according to the most received opinion, though some authors are of a different sentiment. *Lokman.*

14. The reins of government next fell into the hands of his brother Dhu Sadad. *DhuSadad.*

15. Al Hareth, the son of Dhu Sadad, next ascended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of Yaman, and was the first who had the title or surname of Tobba above mentioned given him by his subjects. *AlHarath.*

16. Dhu'l Karnain Asfaab, the next king, was the son of Rayesh. This was the two-horned prince mentioned in the Koran, and not Alexander the Great, as we learn from Ebn Abbas^a. *Dhu'l Karnain.*

17. Dhu'l Manar Abrahah, the son of Dhu'l Karnain, succeeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign. *Dhu'l Manar.*

18. Africus, the son of Dhu'l Manar Abrahah, from whence that part of the world called Africa was so denominated, according to some of the eastern writer, next assumed the reins of governmentⁱ. *Africus.*

19. Dhu'l Adhaar Amru, the son of Africus, who reigned after his father, received the name or surname of Lord of Terrors, from the terror with which his subjects were struck at the sight of certain monstrous men, or satyrs, or apes, as some affirm, whom he had taken prisoners in war, and brought into Yaman^k. *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru.*

^a Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jannabius, *Golii Notæ ad Alfragan.* ubi sup. Pocock. Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 57. ^b Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 18. Ebn Abbas, ⁱ Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Scholiast, in Poem. Ebn Abnuni, &c. ^k Pocockius ubi sup. p. 59.

by various tortures, the most common of which was; throwing them into a pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the Pit. This persecution we find mentioned in the Koran ^q.

Dhu Jadan.

44. Dhu Jadan, i. e. *the person with a sweet voice*, succeeded Dhu Nowas, and was the last of the Hamyaritic monarchs, according to Abulfeda; but Ahmed Ebn Yusef and Al Jannabius make Dhu Nowas the last prince of the true Hamyaritic line, reigning in a continual succession. He was a bigotted Jew, as just observed, and treated his Christian subjects with such barbarity, that Elesbaas, or Elesbaan, king of Ethiopia, sent over forces to assist them. Dhu Nowas, not being able to make head against the Ethiopians, was at last driven to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and lost both his crown and life together. According to Amed Ebn Yusef above mentioned, he reigned sixty-six years; an account which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by Al Jannabius. The Najashi, or king of Ethiopia, established the Christian religion in Yaman, and fixed upon the throne there,

Aryat.

45. Aryat, an Ethiopian ^r.

Abrahah al Ashram.

46. Abrahah Ebn al Sabah, surnamed Al Ashram, i. e. *the Slit-nosed*, from a wound in the face, was the second Ethiopian king, or rather viceroy to the Najashi, in Yaman. He was styled the Lord of the Elephant; which appellation appears to be founded upon the following story, handed down to us by the commentators upon the Koran. Abrahah built a magnificent church for the Christians in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, with a design to induce the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting Mecca. For he thought he should be able to abolish paganism, could he destroy the veneration of the Arabs for the Caaba, by bringing them to a place more sumptuous and grand, which would more strongly attract their curiosity, and gradually excite their devotion. This scheme had soon such an effect, that the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Caaba began considerably to diminish; a circumstance which being observed by the Koreish, who were superstitiously attached to that place, they sent one Nofail, as he is styled by some, of the tribe of Kenanah, to offer an indignity to the Christian church at Sanaa, in order to lessen that religious regard which the Arabs began to have for it. Nofail

^q Baronius in Annal. ad sec. 6. Theophan. Niceph. Callist. Sirm. Metaphrast. Pag. &c. Vide etiam Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. vol. i. p. 359—385. ^r Abulfeda, Akmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabius. Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 61.

therefore,

therefore, getting into it by night, upon a solemn festival, defiled the altars and walls with his excrements; and, making his escape by favour of the night, published every where what he had done. At this profanation Abraha, being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the Caaba, and for that purpose assembled a considerable body of forces, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being, as some say, thirteen, though others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards Mecca. The Meccans, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at Abraha's approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been seen in Arabia, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched themselves. But God himself, at this juncture, interposed in an extraordinary manner. For, when the Ethiopian came near Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, named Mahmud, refused to advance any nearer to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise, and march briskly, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both on account of his size and whiteness, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, so that Abraha could not even reconnoitre the town. The Meccans, observing this particular from their intrenchment, could not account for so unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were retiring. In the mean time, whilst matters were in this situation, a large flock of birds, called *ababil*, like swallows, came flying on a sudden from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle size betwixt a lentil and a vetch, but so ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even of the elephants likewise, which they threw down upon Abraha's soldiers, killing every one they struck. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of those who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards Yaman, but perished by the way, none of them reaching Sanaa, except only Abraha himself, who died soon after his arrival, being struck with a sort of plague, or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is said, that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yacsum, or, according to others, Abraha himself, escaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical story. Upon

which, that prince asked him what sort of birds they were that had occasioned such a destruction; in answer to his question, he pointed to one which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no sooner done than the bird let fall the stone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the Mohammedan writers say, that the names of all the persons to be destroyed were inscribed on the stones that destroyed them; that this flock of birds consisted of two sorts, one whose feathers were black, with white bills; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their stones at once upon the Ethiopians. This memorable event, according to the Mohammedans, is said to have happened in the time of Abd al Motallib, the grandfather of Mohammed, and the very year in which that impostor was born*.

That this piece of history has all the air of one of those fictions with which the Arab writings in general, and the Koran in particular, abound, will be readily acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. Prideaux, rather take the fact therein asserted to be a creature of Mohammed's brain, than a feat of evil spirits, as suggested by Marracci.

Yacsum. 47. Yacsum, the son of Abraha, succeeded him; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any ancient historians†.

Masruk. 48. Masruk, another son of Abraha, and the last of the Ethiopian princes in Yaman, ascended the throne after Yacsum. The Ethiopians, according to some eastern writers, occupied the kingdom of Hamyar about seventy-two years.

Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan. 49. Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan, of the old royal family of Hamyar, having obtained succours of Khofru Anushirwan, king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and drove out the Ethiopians; but was himself slain by some, who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes, Wahzar, Marzaban, Sihan, Jorjis or Georgius, and Bazan, till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhan, the last of them, submit-

* Al-Kor. Mohammed. cap. 105. Al Beidawi, Jallalan. Al Ceshaf, Abulfed. Hist. Gen. A. Jannab. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Ebnol Athir apud Abulfed. Al Gjuzius, in lib. de Ritib. Peregrinat. cap. 78. Khondemir, Houssain Vaez Com. in Al-Kor. D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. in voc. Abraha. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 64.

† Pocock. ubi supra,

ted, and embraced his new religion. This conversion induced Mohammed to give Shahr, the son of Bazan, part of his father's dominions^a.

Thus stands the series of the kings of Hamyar, which we with was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of Hamyar, were styled Al Kail, and the governors of provinces Al Makawel. According to Abulfeda, this monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000 if we believe Ahmed Ebn Yusef and Al Jannabius. The length of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be very uncertain. The history of the kings of Hamyar, surnamed Tobba or Tobbai, which the Arabs pronounce Tababéah, and Tabbaïah, has been written by Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalvahab, Al Bekri, Al Tcini Al Kendi, surnamed Nouairi, author of an universal history, which he dedicated to Nasser Mohammed Ebn Caloun, Sultan of the Mamalukes. For an account of this work, we must refer our readers to M. D'Herbelot. Nouairi died in the year of the Hejra 732^w.

*Duration
of the king-
dom of
Hamyar.*

It has been already observed, that Saba made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a basin or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as also to keep the country his predecessors had subdued in greater awe, by rendering him master of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by the Sabæans esteemed so strong, that they were under no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was restrained on every side by a work so solid, that many had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length God, being highly displeased at their pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is styled in the Koran the Inundation of Al Arem, and occasioned so terrible a destruction, that from thence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that "they were gone and scattered like Saba." Al Beidawi supposes this mound to have been the work of queen Balkis, and

*The inun-
dation of
Al Arem.*

^a Ahmed Ebn Yusef, *ibid.* ^w Al Jauharius, Abulfeda, Al Firauzabadius. Vide etiam Ahmed Ebn Yusef, & Al Jannabium apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 62, 63. D'Herbel. in voc. Nouairi, p. 674, 675. & Voc. Tobba, p. 889.

that the above mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ. But both these notions contradict the most received opinion, which attributes the building of Al Arem to Saba, and fixes its destruction about the time of Alexander the Great. Be that as it may, no less than eight tribes, namely; those of Anmar, Jodham, Al Azd, Tay, Khozaab, Banu, and Amela, were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occasion, some of which gave rise to the kingdoms of Hira and Ghassian * (C).

*Foundation
of the king-
dom of
Hira.*

The kingdom of Hira was founded by Malec, a descendant of Cahlan, in Chaldæa or Irak; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians. These princes, whose general name was Mondar, preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the khalifat of Abubecr, when Al Mondar Maghrur, the last king, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The kingdom of the Mondars, supposed to be the descendants of Nadar Ebn Rabia, continued, according to Ahmed Ebn Yusef, six hundred twenty-two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irak, as the kings of Ghassian were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria. The Lakhmians were descended from Lakhm the son of Amru, the son of Saba. If the kingdom of the Lakhmians or Mondars was not of any longer duration than six hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, Al Beidawi seems not to be much mistaken, when he affirms the inundation of Al Arem to have happened after the birth of Christ, notwithstanding the authority of those who carry it above three centuries higher. This space was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the best Oriental historians †.

Malec.

1. Malec, who, say some of the eastern writers, flourished in the time of the Kings of the Provinces, that is, of the

* Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubienf. clim. ii. par. 6. Al Kor. Mohammed. cap. 34. Al Beidawi. Jallal. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66. † Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Beidawi, &c.

(C) At this time likewise probably happened the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three different chiefs, Becr, Mondar, and Rabia; from whence the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabia (1).

(1) Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 232.

governors Alexander the Great appointed to preside over the provinces of Persia.

2. Amru, Malec's brother.

Amru.

3. Jodaimah, the son of Malec, surnamed Al Abrash, who first introduced among the Arabs the military engine called a balista. He defeated Amru, an Arab prince of the tribe of Amalek, who reigned in Mesopotamia, and put him to the sword; but was afterwards himself assassinated, by the contrivance of Zoba, Amru's daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured². *Jodaimah.*

4. Amru, the son of Ad and Rakash the sister of Jodaimah, by the assistance of Kofair, who had been servant to Jodaimah, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following stratagem: Kofair, at his own desire, had his ears cut off, and was whipped in a most cruel manner, by Amru's order; after which he fled to Zoba, making the heaviest complaints of the inhuman treatment he had received. By this stratagem he soon became a confidant of Zoba, who permitted him to convey into her castle some large chests, full, as was pretended, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately dispatched her. The memory of Amru is still preserved amongst the Arabs by several proverbs, which particularly allude to him². *Amru.*

5. Amrio'l Kais, the son of Amru, surnamed Albada, succeeded his father. *Amrio'l Kais.*

6. Amru, the son of Amrio'l Kais, flourished in the time of Sabur, or Sapor, Dil Actaf, king of Persia. This Persian monarch, whose surname imports as much, according to Abulfeda, cut off the shoulders of all the Arabs he took prisoners, in a war he carried on against that nation. His mother's name was Mary, whose ear-rings occasioned a proverb amongst the Arabs. If this piece of history may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what Al Beidawi has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of Al Arcm happened^b. *Amru.*

7. Aus, the son of Kalam, an Amalekite.

Aus.

8. Another Amalekite prince, whose name is not known, succeeded Aus; after whose decease the crown reverted to the family of the Lakhmians, after an interruption of two descents. *An anonymous king.*

9. Amrio'l Kais, the son of Amru, next ascended the throne. He was surnamed Almohrek, or the Burner, because he first tortured criminals with fire. *Amrio'l Kais.*

² Mohammedes Al Firauzabadius, Al Jaunabius, Ahmed Ebn Yusef. ^a Pocockius, ubi supra, p. 67, 68. ^b Abulfeda. Al Beidawi.

Al Nooman.

10. Al Nooman, the son of Amrio'l Kais, surnamed Alawar, or the Blinkard, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, saying, "What signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?" Al Nooman built those castles or towers called Khaouarnak and Al Sadir, so celebrated by the Arab poets and proverbs. Senemmar, the builder of Khaouarnak, was thrown headlong from thence by Al Nooman's order; a punishment which gave rise to the proverb, "The reward of Senemmar." We are told, that Al Nooman became a convert to the Christian religion, and, in consequence, resigned the reins of government to his son Hendu. Jezdegerd, king of Persia, committed the care of his son's education, and the establishment of his constitution, to Al Nooman, who was afterwards very instrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his ancestors^c.

Al Mondar Ebn Noomah.

11. Al Mondar Ebn Noomah, the Hendu of the Persian historians, attended Baharam, the son of Jezdegerd, into Persia, with an army of forty thousand men, to enable him to dethrone Kerfa, an usurper whom the Magi had elected king^d.

Al Afwad.

12. Al Afwald, son to Al Mondar, overthrew the king of Ghassan, and took many of his relations prisoners, according to some of the Oriental historians; but Ahmed Ebn Yusef relates, that the king of Ghassan defeated and slew him, after a short reign^e.

An anonymous king.

13. He was succeeded by his brother Al Mondar, whose true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilst this prince sat on the throne, since the eastern writers say little of him^f.

Al Kamah.

14. Al Kamah, successor to the last king, was styled Al Damyali, from the family of Damyal, of which he was a member. All the transactions that happened during his reign, are likewise buried in oblivion.

Amrio'l Kais, the son of Nooman.

15. Amrio'l Kais, the son of Nooman, the son of Amrio'l Kais al Mohrek, next swayed the sceptre of Hira. Ahmed Ebn Yusef asserts, that it was he who threw Senemmar headlong from the top of the castle of Khaouarnak, in which circumstance Abulfeda and Al Jannabius agree.

Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

16. Al Mondar, the son of the last king, and Mawiah the daughter of Aus, a lady of such transcendent beauty, that she was called Maissamai, i. e. Water of Heaven, governed after his father in Hira. From his mother he and his poste-

^c Al Firauzabadius, Safioddin. Al Meidan. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. Khondemir.

^d Lebtarikh. Mirkh. Khondem. ubi supra.

^e Ahmed Ebn Yusef.

^f Pocockius, ubi supra, p. 69.

rity were likewise surnamed Al Mondar Ebn Maïssamai; which appellation they had in common with the kings of Ghassan, according to Al Jauharius. For these last princes were so denominated from Abu Amer, of the tribe of Azd, the father of Amru Mazikia, who, by his surprising liberality and beneficence, supplied the want of rain, furnishing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it so dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was deposed by Khofru Kobad, king of Persia^s.

17. Al Hareth Ebn Amru, of the tribe of Kenda, was placed on the throne of Hira by Khofru Kobad, instead of Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais, whom he had deposed. However, Kobad's son and successor Anushirwan, surnamed the Just, in whose reign Mahommed was born, restored the lawful king to his dominions, and expelled the usurper Al Hareth Ebn Amru. Kobad embraced the tenets of an impostor called Mazdak, who pretended to be a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were descended from the same common parents; and in most points agreed with Manes. By rendering wealth and women common, he proposed taking away the lust of both; from whence, he insinuated, generally arose the feuds, quarrels, and animosities that disturbed the repose and tranquility of mankind. Such a doctrine entirely suiting the disposition of Kobad, he not only professed himself a convert to Mazdak's religion, but likewise obliged all his dependents to do the same; and therefore, when Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais refused this, he stripped him of his dominions, and appointed Al Hareth, who had declared himself a zealous follower of Mazdak, to reign over them in his stead: but Anushirwan, called Nushirwan by the Persian historians, in consequence of a vow he had made before his accession, restored the Mondar family to the throne of Hira, put Mazdak to death, and abolished the profession of his impious opinions. It is said, when Mazdac knew his fate, he told Anushirwan, that God had raised him to the throne of Persia to protect his subjects, and not destroy them. To which that monarch answered, "True, abandoned villain; but dost thou not remember, that with the utmost difficulty, even by kissing thy loathsome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent request, had given thee a permission so to do?" "Yes," replied Mazdak. Upon which the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and established

Al Hareth.^s Al Jauharius.

once more amongst his subjects the ancient Magian religion ^b.

*Al Mondar,
Ebn 'Am-
rio'l Kais,
Ebn Noo-
man.*

18. Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais was succeeded by his son Al Mondar, styled, according to Al Jauharius, Modret ol' Hajarah, from his surprising strength, and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother Henda, give him the surname of Ebn Henda. In the eighth year of his reign the false prophet Mahommed was born.

Kabus.

19. Kabus, the brother of Amru, comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eastern writers.

*His brother
Al Mondar.*

20. Al Mondar, brother to the former prince, succeeded him.

*Al Nooman
Abu Kabus.*

21. Al Nooman, surnamed Abu Kabus, was the twenty-first king of Hira, and became a convert to Christianity on the following occasion: in a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but appointed two days, one of which he called the day of sorrow, or mourning, and the other the day of mirth or gladness. Then he resolved, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but that he, who met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabs religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end, to suffer death. One of the prince's courtiers, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, without the Arab's appearing, the king, not displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. The spectators represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have pa-

^b Abulf. in Vit. Anushirwan. Sharestan. apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 70. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, ibid. p. 71. Mirkb. Khond.

tience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his friend suffer, asked him what was his motive for so doing. To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and Al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Christian. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who professed himself a convert to the Christian religion: Al Mondar, the son of Amrio'l Kais, his grandfather, declared himself a Christian, and built large churches in his capital. As Al Nooman took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens, the Arabs, from him, call them the variegated flowers of Al Nooman. After a reign of twenty-two years, Al Nooman was slain by Khofru Parwiz, by whom the kingdom of Hira was translated from the family of the Lakhmians to Ayas the 'Tayite¹.

22. Mohammed's mission commenced in the sixth month of Ayas's reign^k. *Ayas.*

23. Zadawaih, the son of Mahan of Hamadan, succeeded Ayas. *Zadawaih.*

24. Al Mondar, Ebn Nooman, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Mondar, Ebn Maiflamai, surnamed Al Maghrur, governed Hira, from the death of Zadawaih to the conquest of the kingdom of Hira by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walid. The four royal families of Persia, governing that kingdom before this period, were the Pishdadian, the Caianian, the Ashganian, and that of Khofrû; which, as Hira was a state dependent on the Persians, we thought not improper to be observed^l. *Al Mondar. Ebn Nooman. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maiflamai. Al Maghrur.*

The kingdom of Ghaffan, as well as that of Hira, owed its origin to the inundation of Al Arcm. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, according to some, fettled in Syria Damascena, near a water called Ghaffan, thence took their name; though others suppose they were distinguished by this appellation before they left Yaman. Having driven out the Dajaamian Arabs, of the tribe of Salih, who before possessed the country, they made *The kingdom of Ghaffan.*

¹ Al Meidani, Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Abulfed. &c. Vide etiam Sale, ubi supra, p. 23, 24. ^k Pocock. ubi supra, p. 73, 74. ^l Procop. de Bell. Perf. Al-Firauzabadius.

themselves masters of a very considerable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years; as others say six hundred; or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen. If Ghassian was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the Cassanitæ of Ptolemy. However, five of the kings of Ghassian were named Hareth, which the Greeks and Latins wrote Aretas; one of whom ordered the gates of Damascus to be guarded to take St. Paul. Dr. Pococke gives us the following list of the kings of Ghassian, extracted from the Oriental historians ^m.

Jafnah.

1. Jafnah Ebn Amru, Ebn Tha'alibah, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mazikia, to whom, after the excision of the royal family of Salih, the Kodaensian Arabs, and the Greeks in Syria Damascus submitted.

Amru.

2. Amru, the son of Jafnah, who is said to have built many monasteries in Syria.

Amru.

3. Amru, the son of Tha'alibah.

Al Hareth.

4. Al Hareth, or Aretas, the son of Tha'alibah.

Jabalah.

5. Jabalah, the son of Al Hareth.

Al Hareth.

6. Al Hareth, the son of Jabalah.

Al Mondar.

7. Al Mondar Al Acbar, that is, the Great, the son of Al Hareth.

Al Nooman.

8. Al Nooman, the brother of Al Mondar.

Jabalah.

9. Jabalah, the brother of Al Nooman.

Al Ayham.

10. Al Ayham, brother to the last two princes.

Amru.

11. Amru, who was brother to his three last predecessors.

*Jafnah**Al Afsar.*

12. Jafnah, furnished Al Afsar, the son of Mondar Al Acbar, who set the city of Hira on fire; whence his posterity were said to be of the family of the Incendiary.

Al Nooman.

13. Al Nooman Al Afsar, brother to Jafnah.

Al Nooman.

14. Al Nooman, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar.

Jabalah.

15. Jabalah, Ebn Nooman, who waged war with Al Mondar Ebn Ma'iffamai.

Al Nooman.

16. Al Nooman, the son of Al Ayham.

Al Hareth.

17. Al Hareth, brother to Al Nooman Ebn al Ayham.

Al Nooman.

18. Al Nooman, the son of Al Hareth.

Al Mondar.

19. Al Mondar, the son of Al Nooman.

Amru.

20. Amru, Al Mondar's brother.

Hajar.

21. Hajar, brother to Al Mondar and Amru.

Al Hareth.

22. Al Hareth, the son of Hajar.

Jabalah.

23. Jabalah, the son of Al Hareth.

Al Hareth.

24. Al Hareth, the son of Jabalah.

Al Nooman.

25. Al Nooman, the son of Al Hareth, who is called by some eastern writers Abu Carb, and Kotam.

^m Al Beidawi. Pocock. not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.

26. Al Ayham, the son of Jabalah, who was likewise lord of Tadmor. *Al Ayham.*

27. Al Mondar, brother to Al Ayham. *Al Mondar.*

28. Sharahil, brother to the two last princes. *Sharahil.*

29. Amru, another of their brothers. *Amru.*

30. Jabalah, Ebn al Hareth, Ebn Jabalah. *Jabalah.*

31. Jabalah, the son of Al Ayham, and the last of the kings of Ghassan, who, on the great successes of the Arabs in Syria, under the khalif Omar, professed Mohammedism; but, receiving afterwards a disgust, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople. *Jabalah.*

It has been already observed, that Jorham, the son of Kahtan, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, where princes of his line reigned till the time of Ishmael, who married the daughter of Modad, one of those princes. Some authors relate, that Kidar, one of Ishmael's sons, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites; but, according to others, the descendents of Ishmael expelled that tribe, who, retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of Hejaz, taken from Dr. Pococke, is the best that has been hitherto exhibited to the public.

1. Jorham, the brother of Yaarab. *Jorham.*

2. Abd Yalil, the son of Jorham. *Abd Yalil.*

3. Jorham, the son of Abd Yalil. *Jorham.*

4. Abdo'l Madan, the son of Jorham. *Abdo'l Madan.*

5. Nogailah, the son of Abdo'l Madan. *Nogailah.*

6. Abdo'l Masih, the son of Nogailah. *Abdo'l Masih.*

7. Modad, the son of Abdo'l Masih. *Modad.*

8. Amru, the son of Modad. *Amru.*

9. Al Hareth, brother to Amru. *Al Hareth.*

10. Amru, the son of Al Hareth. *Amru.*

11. Basher, brother to Amru. *Basher.*

12. Modad, the son of Amru, the son of Modad. *Modad.*

13. ——— Anonym. *Anonym.*

14. Kidar, the son of Ishmael, whose mother, according to the Oriental historians, was of the house of Jorham. *Kidar.*

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejaz seems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the Desert are governed at this time. The tribe of Khozash, descended from Cahlan, the son of Saba, after the inundation of Al Arem, fled into the kingdom of Hejaz, and set-

* Al Jannabius. *Poc. ubi supra*, p. 38. 78, 79. Vide etiam Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 11, 12.

bled themselves in a valley called Marri, near Mecca; in which territory they founded an aristocracy, assuming to themselves both the government of the city of Mecca, and the custody of the Caaba or temple. Their name they derived from their being cut off, or separated from, the other tribes of Yaman, by the accident above mentioned. They continued masters of the city and territory of Mecca, as well as presidents of the Caaba, for several ages; till at length Kosa, of the tribe of Koreish, circumvented Abu Gabshan, a weak man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and custody of the Caaba for a bottle of wine: but when Abu Gabshan grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he sufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the Arabs: "More vexed with late repentance than Abu Gabshan;" "More foolish than Abu Gabshan:" which are applied to those persons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards sorry for what they have done. The tribe of Khozaah endeavoured afterwards to give some disturbance to the Koreish in the possession of what Kosa had purchased; which furnished the latter with an opportunity of divesting the former of the civil government of Mecca. Notwithstanding what has been advanced, it is not certain whether the tribe of Khozaah were the descendants of Ishmael or Joktan. We find Amru, one of their kings, a descendant of Cahlan, frequently mentioned by the Arab historians; but, as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his son Caab, we shall take no farther notice of them. After the Koreish had possessed themselves of Mecca, they maintained the same form of government that had before prevailed.

Besides the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of inferior note. The tribe of Kenda, in particular, had several kings, of which the three following were the principal.

Hojr.

1. Hojr, surnamed Acelo'l Morar, i. e. *the eater of morar*, a fruit of a bitter taste, on which camels feed. That surname was given him by his wife, who had an aversion to him, because his lips were so contracted that they did not cover his teeth; which made him resemble a camel when browsing. Kenda, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was also called Thajr. Abulfeda asserts that, before the time of Hojr, the people of Kenda were without any kind

* Pocockius, ubi supra, p. 42. 50. 342. Ecchelens. Hist. Arab. p. i. cap. 3. Fortal. Fidei, lib. iv. confid. 1. Abulfeda. Vide etiam Prid Life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4.

of government, from whence many inconveniencies ensuing, induced them to choose him for their king.

2. Amru, the son of Hojr, surnamed Al Maksur, i. e. *Amru*. *contracted or confined*, because he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father.

3. Al Hareth, the son of Amru, was by Khofru Kobad *Al Hareth*. elevated to the throne of Hira, and deposed by Anushirwan, for the reasons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to Diyar Calb, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. Al Hareth placed his son Hojr over the Bani Asad, and his other sons over other tribes. Hojr was the father of Amrio'l Kais, a celebrated poet. The Bani Asad endeavouring to take off Hojr by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and severity, which occasioned his meeting with a violent death. Amrio'l Kais, being apprised of this, assembled a body of forces out of the tribes of Beer and Taglab, with which he defeated the Bani Asad; but afterwards, his troops being dispersed through fear of Al Mondar, he found himself obliged to fly to the Romans, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home, near Ancyra. Some authors say, that Cæsar gave him a poisoned garment, which was the cause of his death; but Abulfeda treats this as an improbable fable, meriting no regard. To the kings of Kenda we find one Ebn Ommil' Kotam added by Al Firauzabadius P.

The following princes also deserve a place here.

1. Zohair Ebnol Habab, who presided over the tribe of *Zohair*. Kelab, and, on account of his extraordinary sagacity, was surnamed the Wise. He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the Bani Gafsan with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the Caaba; and entered into an alliance with Abrahah Al Ashram, styled Master of the Elephant. Notwithstanding what has been said of him, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking.

2. Colaib Ebn Rabiha governed the Bani Maad, the Sa- *Colaib*. raceni Maadeni of Procopius; and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by Jassus, for shooting a camel named Sarab, which he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an Arab, who had been entertained by Basus, a

P Abulfeda in Vit. Anushirwân, & alib. Al Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 20. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.

near relation of Jassas. The murder of Ebn Rabiha occasioned a forty years war; whence came the Arab proverb: "A worse omen than Sarab: More ominous than Bafus." It may not be improper to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the Arabs generally forbid others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard they appropriated to themselves¹.

Mohalhel. 3. Mohalhel Ebn Rabiha, brother to Colaib, formed an army out of the families of Taglab, with which he carried on a long and bloody war against those of Beer, in order to revenge his brother's death².

Zohair. 4. Zohair Ebn Jodaimah, who received a certain toll or tribute from the Arabs that frequented the celebrated fair of Ocadh, was assassinated by Khaled, who afterwards fled to Al Nooman, king of Hira. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by Al Hareth, an assassination which occasioned long and bloody broils.

Kais. 5. Kais, the son of Zohair Ebn Johaimah, had two famous horses, called Dahes and Gabrah, which ran with two others belonging to Hadifa, for a prize of a hundred camels. This event gave rise to that bloody war called by the Arab historians the war of Dahes and Gabrah, which continued, without intermission, forty years. King Kais, in order to atone for so great an effusion of blood, is said to have embraced the Christian religion, and even entered upon the monastic state.

Thus have we gone through the history of the ancient Arabs before Mohammed, as far as it can be collected from the most authentic Arab historians: but in order to render that branch of the work we are now treating the more complete, we shall give a brief account of the principal transactions the ancient Arabs were concerned in with the Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, extracted from the most approved writers of the two last nations.

*The Arabs
newer, at
least for
any long
time, sub-
ject to the
Egyptians.*

According to Diodorus Siculus, Sesostris, that is, as Josephus and Sir Isaac Newton maintain, Sefac, in his father's life-time, subdued Arabia. However, that the Arabs were never thoroughly subjugated, nor even long paid any sort of homage to the kings of Egypt, appears from hence, that, according to the same author, Sefac himself was obliged to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, in order to secure

¹ Procop. de Bell. Pers. cap. 19, 20.

² Poc. ubi sup. p. 32.

Egypt from the excursions of the Arabs and Syrians. The Seenite Arabs, contiguous to Palestine and Syria, therefore, at least, must have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from Diodorus, that he ever traversed Arabia Felix, though he had a fleet of four hundred sail upon the Red Sea; but only coasted it, or at farthest seized upon some of its maritime provinces in his voyage to India. As the word Arabia sometimes denotes only Arabia Deserta, at other times Arabia Petraea, and sometimes Arabia Felix, or a part of that country, in the Greek and Latin authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninsula of the Arabs ever was, at least for any considerable time, in a state of servitude to the Egyptians; but the contrary is evident even from Diodorus Siculus himself, who gives us the most pompous account of the conquests of Sesostris or Sésac*.

We learn from the same author, that neither the Assyrians, Medes, nor Persians, could ever gain any considerable footing among them. The Persian monarchs indeed were their friends, and so far respected by them, as to have an annual present of frankincense: yet they could never make them tributary, and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyzes, in his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask permission to pass through their territories†.

Neither the Medes, Persians, nor Assyrians, could ever get any considerable footing among them. They were not afraid of Alexander.

When Alexander the Great had subdued the Persian empire, notwithstanding his exorbitant power, the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him; which omission, with a desire of possessing so rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a design against them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible. The happiness of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conquest of Arabia, in order to fix his royal seat in that territory, after his return from his Indian expedition: but, according to Strabo, he had another motive likewise to this hazardous undertaking; for being informed that the Arabs had only two divinities, Jupiter and Bacchus, whom they worshipped, because they supplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewise desirous that they should esteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deserve this worship, he proposed first to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full possession of their ancient liberty

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. Joseph. in Antiquit. Newt. in Chronol. aliique Script. plurim. pass.
† Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 97, 97.

and independency, which he believed would merit divine honours as much as the greatest benefaction. Full, therefore, of this scheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, composed of ships built in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Babylonia, to favour the operations of the land-forces; but death put an end to this, as well as all the other projects of that ambitious prince^u.

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops sent against them by Antigonus.

Antigonus, after the reduction of Syria and Phœnicia, advanced into that part of Arabia bordering upon those countries, supposing that the Arabs were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached Athenæus, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to ravage the territories of the Nabathæans. That general marched to Petra without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the Nabathæans, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and having left only their wives, children, sick, and aged in Petra, with an inconsiderable garrison, he seized upon the city, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprize, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours. The Arabs receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and having assembled a considerable body of troops, pursued the Greeks with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from Petra, without any guards posted to apprise them of impending danger, not imagining it possible for the Arabs to come up with them so soon. Whereupon they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment except fifty horse, that made their escape to Antigonus, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received^w.

Demetrius undertakes a second expedition against them without success.

However, the Nabathæans, dreading the resentment of Antigonus, sent a letter to him written in the Syriac character, to complain of Athenæus, and to excuse what had happened. That prince, finding it impossible to deal with men inhabiting a desert by mere force, dissembled his resentment, and disowned the orders he had given Athenæus, telling their ambassadors, that he was justly punished for invading their country. This declaration gave great satisfaction to the Arabs, though, in order to secure themselves against any unforeseen event, they erected watch-towers,

^u Strab. lib. xvi. Arrian. 161.

^w Diod. Sic. lib. xix.

to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any sudden incursion. Antigonus finding them upon their guard, for some time continued in a state of friendship with them; but at last imagining that a fair opportunity of revenging the late disgrace offered, he sent his son Demetrius, with a select detachment of four thousand foot, and as many horse, to chastise them; but the watch-towers giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a sufficient garrison into Petra, and made all the other necessary dispositions for their defence. However, Demetrius arrived before Petra, and immediately attacked it with great fury, but was repulsed. Having received such presents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour, he raised the siege, and marched with his army to the lake Asphaltites, where he encamped. Plutarch relates, that Demetrius's surprising intrepidity in the most imminent dangers, so astonished the Arabs, that they not only suffered him to retire quietly from their territories, but also to carry off an immense booty, and, among other things, seven hundred camels².

Antigonus was greatly dissatisfied with the ill success of this expedition, imagining that the Arabs would grow more insolent: but he appeared highly pleased with his son Demetrius for discovering the lake Asphaltites, which it seems, till that time, had been unknown to the Greeks, especially as he imagined his revenue would be much increased by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, Hieronymus Cardianus the historian, his treasurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ships, and collect all the bitumen that could be got from off the lake; but the Arabs collected a body of six thousand men, with which they attacked and dispersed the people Hieronymus employed³.

They did not suffer Antigonus to collect bitumen on the lake Asphaltites.

As for the Romans, they never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called; though that the Arabs submitted to Lucullus is asserted by Plutarch. The most they achieved was to make some tribes tributary to them, as Pompey subdued one commanded by Sampsiceramus or Shams' Alkeram, who reigned at Hems or Eméfa. His people were made civilized, and lived under a more regular form of government than the other Arabs, as we learn from Strabo⁴.

Pompey made an Arab tribe tributary to the Romans.

That the Arabs frequently made dreadful incursions into Syria whilst under the Romans, we have already observed

² Plutarch. in Demetr. lib. xvi.

³ Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

⁴ Strab.

from Strabo; and are now farther to premise, that these incursions sometimes brought upon them the Roman arms. Pompey, as we learn from Plutarch, obliged Aretas, an Arab prince, whose dominions bordered upon Syria and Mesopotamia, to submit and receive a Roman garrison; and the same general likewise subdued the Arabs, who dwelt about Mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius. After which, the king of the Arabs residing in Petra, who, till this time, disregarded the Romans, submitted by letter to him; but that Pompey ever possessed himself of that fortress, does not appear. Plutarch rather seems to insinuate, that he was recalled from thence by the death of Mithridates, before he could make full proof of the sincerity of that prince's submission. And this is the more probable, because Gabinius, who succeeded soon after to the government of Syria, made preparations for an expedition against the Arabians, but was diverted from his design by Ptolemy's solicitation to be restored to his kingdom^a.

Agbarus, or, according to others, Ariamnes, an Arab emir or phylarch, misled and deluded Crassus to his own destruction. Not long after which event the Arabs probably defeated the Palmyrenians, when Antony sent a detachment of horse to ravage their city: for Appian tells us, that the body of troops defending them consisted of archers, who excelled in that way; which is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the Arabs^b.

*Ælius
Gallus's
expedition.*

But none of the Romans ever penetrated so far into Arabia as did Ælius Gallus, or Ælius Largus, according to Dio, in the reign of the emperor Augustus. Having embarked all his forces he sailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans, on the coast of the Red Sea. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves which lie in that part of the Arabian Gulph, and Syllæus, who had undertaken to be his pilot, treacherously conducted him the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost many of his ships. Had he marched his army by land, as was first intended, he might have avoided this disaster; but Syllæus prevented the execution of that salutary design, informing Gallus, that there was no safe passage by land for his troops through the country of the Nabathæans; though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans, almost as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at Leucocome, a strange distemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havoc in his

^a Plut. in Pomp. & alibi.

^b Appian. de Bell. Civil.

army,

army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the summer, and the following winter. Early in the spring Gallus, leaving winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of Hira, where he met with a kind reception from Al Hareth, or, as Strabo calls him, Aretas, a near relation of Abd Wadd, or Obodas, king of the Nabathæans, his ally. He soon put himself again in motion; and on his march defeated a numerous body of Arabs, who intercepted him upon the banks of a river, with an intention to dispute his passage. He then reduced several considerable places without opposition, and penetrated as far as Marsyabæ, a city of the Rhamanites, governed by a petty prince named Ilasarus, or Al Afar, which he besieged ineffectually, being obliged to abandon that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various distempers proceeding from the heat of the climate, the insalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviseable to march back into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence pursue his route into Egypt. Accordingly he set out on his march homeward; and, by the assistance of more faithful guides, reached the city of Negra, one of Obodas's maritime towns, by the road of Anagrana, Chaalla, and Malotha, in sixty days. Here he embarked his troops, and crossing the Arabian Gulf, landed at Myos Hormus, on the Egyptian side; from whence he conducted the poor remains of his army to Alexandria. The ill success Gallus experienced on this occasion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of Syllæus, whose view, in the total destruction of the Roman army, seems to have been the acquisition of some of the Roman territories for his master Obodas. This is the more probable, as that prince concurred with his chief minister, by not supporting Gallus. Be that as it may, the Roman general discovered the perfidy of Syllæus before his return from Arabia; but for political reasons he thought proper to dissemble his resentment. However, after his arrival in Egypt, he sent the traitor to Rome, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head struck off by the emperor's order. We must not omit observing, that Gallus spent two years in this unfortunate expedition.

From this time to the reign of Trajan, we hear little of Arabia; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the entire reduction of Arabia Petræa by Aulus Cornelius

* Strab. ubi supra. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 23. Dio, lib. liii. p. 516, & seq. ad ann. U. C. 730.

The Roman historians falsely assert Trajan to have conquered Arabia.

Palma, governor of Syria, according to Dio. Eusebius relates; that the inhabitants of Petra and Bosra computed their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the Roman empire. Arrian, Eutropius, Lucian, and Dio, intimate, that Trajan conquered Arabia Felix, a conquest which seems to be confirmed by some medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conquest of India^d. Nevertheless, this very emperor received a check in the sequel, from the people of Arabia.

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

Receiving intelligence that the Hagarenes had declared war against him, he marched from Ctesiphon into their territories with a powerful army, and besieged their capital city. As it was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, surrounded with strong walls, seated in a barren country, and defended by a numerous garrison, Trajan could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy discovering him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs, and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed a horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, with dreadful flashes of lightning. The appearance of rainbows likewise amazed and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the same time they were infested in their camp by prodigious swarms of flies; so that Trajan was at length obliged to raise the siege, and retire.

As is Severus, after he had ineffectually laid siege to Asra.

About eighty years after this period, the emperor Severus, being greatly incensed against the Arabs bordering on Syria, for assisting Niger, laid siege to Atræ their capital, with a formidable army, and a great train of military engines invented by Priscus, the most celebrated mechanic of his age. He pushed on the siege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear that, of all nations, the Hagarenes only should withstand the Romans. Being repulsed in the first attack with great slaughter, he ordered a second to be made. Then he might have carried the place, but chose rather to sound a retreat, hoping, by his lenity, to induce the Arabs to sue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would discover their hidden treasures, supposed to be consecrated to the Sun. But for a whole

^d Dio, lib. lxxviii. p. 777. Euseb. in Chron. p. 206. Arrian. in Periopl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6. §. 46. Francisc. Mediobarb. Birag. p. 116. Occo. p. 215.

day they made not the least overture. In the mean time the ardour of his troops cooled to such a degree, that the Europeans refused to begin another assault, and the Syrians were repulsed in one that they made. This miscarriage so chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers represented that he would engage to storm the place with five hundred and fifty European soldiers, he replied, "But where shall I find so many?" God (says the historian), preserved the town by the backwardness of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next. He was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and retire into his own dominions^e.

From this time to the birth of Mohammed, we do not find many particulars of moment related of the Arabs in general, or of the Saracens, the most celebrated people among them, in particular, by the Greek and Latin historians. The Saracens, however, we are told, ravaged Mesopotamia in the time of the emperor Constantius, and joined the Persians against Julian. That prince, and some of his predecessors, had paid the Saracens an annual sum, that they might have a body of troops always ready for the service of the Romans: but this he afterwards resolved to discontinue; and, when they sent deputies to complain of this treatment, Julian told them, that a warlike prince had steel, but no gold: which expression they resenting, deserted to the Persian, and ever after continued faithful to him. Mavia, queen of the Saracens, sent a body of her troops to the assistance of the Romans against the Goths, who, after the defeat and death of Valens, by their vigorous sallies forced those Barbarians to retire from before Constantinople, which metropolis they had besieged. About the year of the Christian æra 411, they committed great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria; but soon afterwards retired. In the reign of Theodosius, Alamundarus, or Al Mondar, with a numerous army, assisted the Persians against that prince; but the greatest part of his men being seized with an unaccountable panic, threw themselves headlong into the Euphrates, where, to the number of a hundred thousand, they are said to have perished. A. D. 452, the Saracens, Nubians, and Blemmyes, broke into the Roman empire; but were defeated by the troops of the emperor Marcian, and forced to sue for peace; which the emperor granted upon terms extremely advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the sixth cen-

Short account of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed.

^e Dio, p. 948. Herodian. lib. iii. Euseb. Chron. Spartian. in Sever. Goltz. p. 84.

tury, a prince of the Mondar family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the Romans, as we learn from Procopius. He harassed them for a great number of years, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of Egypt to the confines of Mesopotamia, killing numbers of their subjects, and exacting considerable sums for the redemption of others taken prisoners. He flew from Egypt to Mesopotamia like lightning, being so rapid in his incursions, that the Roman troops scarce ever began their march to stop his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the Romans, when he found himself obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole Roman corps prisoners, with their general Demostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John the son of Lucas; for whose ransom he received an immense sum of money. Being at the head of all the Saracens bordering upon the Persian dominions, he was one of the most formidable enemies the Romans had. None of their generals, nor any of the Arab phylarchs in their interest, could ever make head against him. Justinian, in order to annoy him, vested an Arab prince with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to push on the war with greater vigour against Alamundarus; for so Procopius calls him. However, Al Mondar was victorious in every engagement with Aretas, either vanquishing him by force, or prevailing upon him to abandon the Romans. In short, this prince, with Azarethes the Persian general, defeated the renowned Belisarius, and diffused terror wherever he came. The dispute he had with Aretas, who pleaded the cause of the Romans, about a territory called Strata, our readers will find related in Procopius. But as the rapid conquests of the Saracens, and the principal transactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of Mohammed, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of Arabia.

Arabia famous for heresies after the introduction of Christianity.

That Arabia, after the introduction of Christianity, was remarkable for heresies, has been already observed. The Hamyarites were infected with the Arian heresy, in the reign of the emperor Constantius, as we learn from Theophilus Indus in Philostorgius. Some Christians of this nation believed, that the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day. The heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, the Nazareans, and the Collyridians, were also broached, or at least propagated, among the Arabs. The Collyridians were so denominated from a sort of twisted cake called collyris, which they offered to the Virgin Mary, whom they worshipped as God. Other sects likewise there were

were within the borders of Arabia, who took refuge from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion.

The Jews, though an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in Arabia, whither they fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, as well as the great havock made amongst them by the emperor Hadrian, and brought over several tribes to their religion.

Dhu Nowas, as has been observed, was a Jew, and persecuted all the Christians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty Christians in the city of Najrân only. He also sent an embassy to Al Mondar, king of Hira, offering him large sums of money, if he would persecute the Christians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of Alexandria pressing Elsbaas the Najasbi, or king of Ethiopia, to revenge such inhuman cruelty, that prince crossed the Streights of Bab-al-Mandab, with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three sail, and an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he made a descent in Yaman. With these forces he overthrew Dhu Nowas, seized upon his kingdom, and made St. Aretas's son governor of Najrân. The Abassines kept possession of this kingdom, till they were expelled by Seif the son of Dhu Yazan, of the tribe of Hamyar, who was, however, himself slain by some of the same tribe. We shall conclude our history of the ancient Arabs, or the Time of Ignorance, as it is called by the Mohammedans, with the following observations: Abd al Motaleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, was prince or chief of the Koreish at the time the foregoing war happened: Mohammed himself was born the very year the Abassines were vanquished in their expedition against Mecca: on this year, A. D. 578, commenced the æra of the Elephant, from which the Arabs computed their time for twenty years; and another, called the æra of the Unjust War (F), followed this, which was finally succeeded by that of the Hejra^f.

*Conclusion
of the his-
tory of the
ancient
Arabs.*

CHAP.

^f Abulfed. Hist. Gen. Al Gjuzius in lib. de Ritib. Peregrinat. cap. 78. Al Zamakhshar. Al Beidawi, Jallal. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Abiahah. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. Al Kodius apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 172, 173. Sim. Metaphrastes in Vir. S. Aret. & Socior. apud Suriunt, tom. v. p. 941. Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad. Al Shareftan. Job Ludol. in Comment ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. Gouli Not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliique auctor. supra laudat.

(F) This was called the Unjust and Impious War, because the principal actions of it happened betwixt the Kais Ailan

C H A P. LXXX.

The History of the Empires of Nice and Trapezond, from their Foundation, the former by Theodore Lascaris, and the latter by the Comneni, to their final Abolition, the one by Michael Palæologus, the other by Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side the Mediterranean, and before we repass into Europe. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the latest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to describe, either in Asia or Africa, that are now extinct; and as they were both dismembered from the Greek empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the Latins, mentioned in a former volume. That of Nice was founded by Theodore Lascaris, and that of Trapezond by David and Alexius Comnenus, whilst Baldwin reigned at Constantinople.

A.D. 1204.

S E C T. I.

The Empire and Emperors of Nice.

Theodore Lascaris founds the empire of Nice.

1. **T**HEODORE LASCARIS, son-in-law to the tyrant Alexius Angelus, having happily escaped out of Constantinople, and fled into Bithynia, was received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon subdued Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia, from the Mæander to the Black or Euxine Sea. These provinces he erected

and Koreish, two powerful Arabian tribes, in the sacred months above mentioned. These sacred months were Moharram, Rajeb, Dulkaada, and Dulhaga. In them all acts of hostility amongst the hostile tribes, how violent soever their resentment might be, entirely ceased. They then laid aside all warlike weapons,

and conversed together in the most friendly manner. If an Arab met with the person that had killed his father or brother, he could not offer any violence to him. The Hejra did not take place, till it was agreed upon in the khalifate of Omar, that the Arabs should compute their time from thence,

into

into an empire, and fixed his imperial residence in the famous city of Nice, from which this new empire took its name ^e. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law, and Iohannes sultan of Iconium, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They marched accordingly against him, with an army of twenty thousand men, and invested the city of Antioch, on the Mæander, the then boundary of this new empire on that side. Lascaris, though he could then muster but two thousand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, lest its falling into their hands should open a way to the heart of his dominions. They were surprised to find him come so suddenly, and with such a handful of troops, against them; but such was his valour, and that of eight hundred of his Italians, that he gave the enemy a signal overthrow; but his Greeks being somewhat intimidated at sight of the superior number of the enemy, the sultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the attack, fell suddenly upon them; and, having singled Lascaris out, unhorsed him at the first shock. Lascaris soon recovered himself, brought his competitor to the ground, struck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into such a panic, that they betook themselves to flight. Alexius, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to Nice, where he ended his days in a monastery. The Turks were soon after glad to accept of such a peace as Lascaris was pleased to dictate: another being concluded between him and Henry, the brother and successor of Baldwin, he secured his new-founded empire to himself and successors, by means of extraordinary valour and conduct, exerted against the Turks and Latins, during the space of eighteen years ^h.

*Defeats
Angelus,
and the
Turks.*

At his death he left only a son, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, named Irene, he had married to the brave John Ducas, surnamed Vataces, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy, though he had two brothers, Alexius and Angelus, whom it might be expected he would have entrusted with the care of his son and empire: but he seems to have been more intent on strengthening and enlarging the latter, than to secure it to his nearest kindred; and accordingly appointed his son-in-law his successor, as the most capable of answering his design.

*His death
and suc-
cessor.*

2. John Ducas was accordingly crowned at Nice by Manuel the great patriarch, and proved no less brave and suc-

A.D. 1222.

*John Du-
cas crown-
ed emperor.*

Nicet. in Bald. cap. 1, & seq.

^h Idem ibid. cap. 11. ad fin.

cessful than his predecessor. We have formerly had occasion to mention his extraordinary success against the Turks, and especially the Latins, whom he defeated in several battles, and from whom he took a considerable number of places, which we shall forbear repeating here. He died after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, in the sixty-second of his age, after having extended his conquests, not only in Asia but in Europe, and even almost to the gates of Constantinople; and was succeeded by his son,

A.D. 1225.

*Theodore
Lascaris
crowned.*

3. Theodore Lascaris, who, during his short reign, was likewise very successful against the Bulgarians, and the despot of Epirus, as we have formerly seen. One great mistake this prince was guilty of, was the recalling the traitor Michael Palæologus, who had joined the Turks, and restoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his son of the empire. Theodore died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son,

A.D. 1258.

*John Lascaris
crowned.*

4. John Lascaris, then about nine years of age; for which reason his father committed him, and the care of the empire, to Arsenius the patriarch of Nice, and to the famed Muzalo, a person indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deservedly raised to the highest posts in the empire. For this promotion, Muzalo incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithstanding the solemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, rushed with their swords drawn upon that brave minister, on the very place where the funeral obsequies of the deceased monarch were performed; and, in the midst of the divine service, dispatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for sanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous Palæologus had the greatest share in contriving and conducting this assassination, as the most likely means to enable him to seize the imperial dignity, which he never would have attempted whilst the young prince was under

*Muzalo as-
sinated.*

*Palæologus
chosen pro-
tector.*

the care of so brave and worthy a guardian. However, Muzalo was no sooner dispatched, than the traitor caused himself to be chosen to succeed him in the guardianship of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the least regard to the patriarch, who, though no consummate statesman, was yet a person of singular learning and merit.

A.D. 1259.

*His trea-
chery and
treason.*

His new dignity was soon after signalized with a complete defeat, which his brother John gave the despot of Epirus, who had then invaded the province of Thrace and Macedonia. The news of this action no sooner reached Magnesia, the

¹ Nicet. in Bald. cap. 12, & seq.

place where the new protector then resided, than he was saluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace: for this usurpation the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him, and all his adherents; and Paktologus found no other expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himself under a solemn oath to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he should be of age. This promise having satisfied the too credulous prelate, he was easily persuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no farther concerned with any particulars of that usurper's reign, than as they relate to the Nicean empire, to which he now put a period, we shall refer our readers to what has been related in a former volume; and only add, that, having soon after, that is, in the second year of his reign, taken Constantinople from the Latins, he removed the seat of empire from Nice to that ancient metropolis, where he caused himself to be again crowned emperor of the East. The unfortunate young prince fell a sacrifice to the ambition of that tyrant, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed the sole lawful and rightful possessor of the empire. Arsenius, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication against him, and all his adherents: but neither this, nor the great opposition which he received from abroad, could wrest the empire from him, though it proved a very troublesome and thorny possession, as we have elsewhere shewn. This was the end of the Nicean empire, about fifty-seven years after its foundation. Nice, the metropolis, though it was in a great measure divested of its grandeur by the removal of the court to Constantinople, yet continued to be so considerable a city, that it passed more than once from the Greeks to the Turks, and back again, till it was at length taken by Orchanes in the manner already related.

A.D. 1267.

S E C T. II.

The Empire of Trapezond.

THIS monarchy, founded, as we lately hinted, much about the same time with that of Nice, lasted much longer, and made a much more considerable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of Trapezond or Trapezus, which was now made the imperial seat of the Comneni, and metropolis of their new empire (G). David and Alexius

A.D. 1204.

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond.

(G) Trapezus, or Trapezond, and by the Turks Tarabozan, was a Greek city in Pontus,

Alexius Comneni (H), grandsons to the tyrant Andronicus, who had been lately put to such a cruel, yet deserved death, by Isaac Angelus, were the first founders of it. These having the good fortune to escape from Constantinople together, seized on the more eastern parts of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and erected them into an empire; and Trapezond being then the strongest and most considerable city in their dominions, they made it the seat of their residence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear that they immediately assumed the imperial title; much less that they were soon acknowledged as such. On the contrary, Vincent de Beauvais styles them only lords of Trapezond; but it is plain that they soon arrived at a considerable height of power and influence, since the emperor Baldwin, about thirty-four years after their settling at Trapezond, sought their alliance and friendship, and was assisted by them in some considerable enterprizes against Vataces, emperor of Nice, who had invaded his dominions. However, it is not improbable that neither these of Trapezond, nor those of Nice, took upon them the title of emperors till some time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as some conjecture^k, not till the usurper Michael Palæologus had seized on that of Nice, and got himself crowned emperor at Constantinople; at

A.D. 1239.

^k Crusius Annotat. in lib. i. Turco-Græc. p. 60, &c. Baudrand sub voce Trapez. Du Fresne Hist. Byzant. p. 166, & seq.

founded by the ancient Sinopians, and tributary to them, as we learn from Xenophon, who marched by it in his famous retreat. It is situate at the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninsula on the Black or Euxine Sea, where it begins to turn towards the east. Its port was once large and convenient, and the city itself well propled, and surrounded with steep mountains. It was encompassed with a double wall of an oblong square form, from which it had the name of Trapezus, which signifies a table; but it suffered greatly in the wars between Mithridates and the Romans, as likewise from the Scythian Tar-

tars, who surprised and took it at a time when the wealthiest persons had taken refuge in it, with their most considerable effects. The Comneni, having made it afterwards the metropolis of their new empire, raised it to the pristine glory and strength which the Romans had formerly given it; but the Turks having become masters of this city, suffered it to go to decay (1).

(H) The family of the Comneni was very ancient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in Du Fresne, Hist. Byzant. de Familiis Comnenor.

(1) Baudran. Tournesfort. La Martiniere.

which

which time the Comneni, either in contempt, or because they could not brook an inferior title to his, likewise assumed the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain that after they took that title, their successors maintained it with great success and bravery; and caused themselves to be acknowledged as such by foreign powers, as long as their empire lasted, that is, till it was subdued by Mohammed the Great, who, like an irresistible inundation, drove all before him, as we shall see at the conclusion of this chapter.

It is not easy to guess from the Byzantine historians, how far they enlarged the limits of this new empire; nor what number of cities they possessed in the three provinces above mentioned. It is more likely they were in a kind of fluctuation during their wars with the emperors of Constantinople; so that we shall have no occasion to dwell on the topography of it; those provinces, and their chief cities, having been already described in the course of this history. The port called Platana lies east of the city. Arrian informs us, that the emperor Adrian caused it to be repaired; and it appears from some ancient medals of this city, particularly two mentioned by Goltzius, that its port was very much frequented, and carried on a considerable traffick; for till that emperor repaired and altered the entrance of the harbour, the ships could not come into it, but at some certain seasons of the year; but it then became fit to receive and shelter a great number of them, and of the largest size. The Genoese, who had it once in their possession, are said to have improved it with a large mole; which the Turks have since suffered to go to ruin; so that at present the port is only fit to receive saics, and other small vessels; and what is still left seems to be the remains of what Adrian had formerly executed.

The port of Trapezond described.

Run to decay.

The country about Trapezond is fertile in variety of plants and fruit-trees, corn, and other products common to all those provinces along the Euxine; but is most remarkable for the intoxicating and purgative quality of its honey. Aristotle says, it is chiefly gathered from the box-trees that grow on that plain; and that it is almost an infallible remedy against epilepsies; but adds, that if a person in health ventures to eat of it, it bereaves him of his senses¹, as we find it operated on Xenophon's army for some short time: and as this is justly esteemed a singular rarity in nature, which the judicious Mr. Tournefort attributes to the quality of the flowers peculiar to this territory; so this country affords a

Wonderful effects of its honey.

¹ De Mirab. Orb. See Steph. de Urb. sub voce Trapezus, & alibi Pausan. in Arcad. & alibi.

no less remarkable one in art, if we may call by that name a structure which is reared, in some measure, without any. We mean the famed convent of St. John, situate in the middle of a large wood, about twenty-five miles south of Trapezond, and surrounded with the greatest variety of trees, most of them of a monstrous size and height.

*A strange
rude mon-
astery de-
scribed.*

This wonderful edifice, all of wood, is built on a very steep and craggy rock, and inhabited by monks, who are wholly engaged with their temporal as well as spiritual concerns, and have neither books, learning, politeness, nor even so much as a kitchen. The ascent to it is by a flight of steps, if a couple of monstrous fir-trees (reared opposite to each other against the steep rock, like the two sides of a ladder, and so coarsely notched with a hatchet, that the expertest rope-dancer could not go up and down without danger of breaking his neck) can deserve that name. However, to prevent accidents of that nature, the cunning architect hath wisely reared some posts on each side to assist the climbers, without which it would be impossible to reach half-way up to the top, or even to descend, without being giddy; the two trees being as high as the mast of a large ship. It is hardly possible for the first men, had they been even the mutum & turpe pecus that Horace makes them, to have contrived a more rude and simple staircase. The rest of the building is after the same primitive style, and all the avenues to it give the most lively idea of the infancy of nature, though variegated with the most delightful prospects of small landships, rivulets flowing from a great number of clear springs, stored with delicious fish: at a distance appear stately woods, which shelter it from bad weather and worse neighbours, capable of raising and delighting the most contemplative minds; but the good monks here, who are about forty in number, are of too coarse a stamp to improve it to such advantages, and only use their apartments as so many cells or dens, where they retreat and secure themselves from the insults of the Turks, that they may attend their devotions with greater ease and safety.

Its income.

They are nevertheless wealthy, being masters of all the territory round them for above six miles, and having some considerable farms on the adjacent mountains, and even some houses in Trapezond. The misfortune is, that the tyranny of the Turkish government suffers them to reap but little comfort or advantage from either, insomuch that they dare not build themselves a church, or a better monastery, lest the Turks should demand or seize on the money that was designed for that use, as soon as either work was begun.

On

On which account they choose to live a kind of eremitic life, in that rude and almost inaccessible retreat.

There are several ancient ruins in the neighbourhood of Trapezond, which still preserve so much of their pristine grandeur as to make one regret the dreadful havoc which the Turks have made among them, particularly some once stately churches; part of which are now turned into mosques, and the rest gone to ruin. As to the city of Trapezond, it still retains the title of archbishopric, though a very poor one, and is the residence of a beglerbeigh. It stands on the coast of the Euxine sea, eighteen miles north-east of Tocat, and about forty south-west of Rizza, in latitude 41 degrees 5 minutes, and east longitude 39 degrees 22 minutes.

Other curiosities.

The Trapezuntines were of the Greek church; and after the foundation of this new empire had a patriarch of their own, but whether chosen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be guessed at. After their becoming subject to the Turks, the latter still chose their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the sultan: this was done in every place throughout the Turkish conquests, in the same manner as it was practised under the Christian emperors; that is, without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of Trapezond were the first who caused this dignity to be loaded with a tax of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to those of their other conquests. As for other particulars of their religion, laws, and customs, it is unnecessary to dwell longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. With respect to their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and some other cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the Pontic history, we need not doubt but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by Tournefort ^m, as well as the coins mentioned by Du Fresne ⁿ, are proofs of the trade and opulence, both of their empire and its metropolis, though, since their falling into the hands of the Turks, they have fared like all the rest of their conquests, and greatly failed of their ancient commerce and splendor. We shall now give an account of the Trapezuntine monarchs, from Alexius their founder to David their last emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themselves in their high dignity against so many powerful enemies,

Their religion, patriarchs, &c.

Trade.

^m Voyages au Levant. ⁿ Hist. Byzant. Stamm 28. p. 168.

such as were some time the Latins and the Greeks, especially those of the new Nicean empire, and at other times the Turks, Saracens, and Persians. These would doubtless make a considerable figure in history, had they been transmitted in an uninterrupted series; but the misfortune is, that the Byzantine historians, from whom we have our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occasionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the Constantinopolitan empire. We shall only add, that the duration of the Trapezuntine empire was about two hundred and fifty-seven, or two hundred and fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Christ 1204, and subdued anno 1461, or 1462.

S E C T. III.

Emperors of Trapezond.

*Alexius
the Great.*

1. **A**LEXIUS COMNENUS, surnamed the Great, and his brother David, were the sons of Manuel, and grandsons of the tyrant Andronicus Comnenus. We have already spoken of the usurpation and tyranny, as well as the tragical end of the latter. Manuel was the eldest son of Andronicus; but so unlike his father in his vices, that he was disinherited and imprisoned by him, and his next brother John was appointed his successor; but when he found the whole populace exasperated at this settlement, he then tried in vain to appease them, by pretending that he always designed the empire for Manuel. Upon the death of Andronicus, and the restoration of Isaac Angelus, or rather, soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, Manuel's two sons, Alexius, and his brother David, fled into Pontus, seized on Heraclea; and soon after made themselves masters of the whole province of Paphlagonia, Colchis, Galatia, Cappadocia, with some other cities of less note; and Alexius fixed his imperial seat at Trapezond^o. He soon after formed an alliance with Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, and assisted him against Theodore Lascaris, as we have already hinted. It does not, however, appear that he then took the imperial title, most authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandson or great-grandson that first assumed it; and that he contented himself with that of duke or lord of Trapezond, as he is styled by an ancient author, who mentions him on account of his having

*Founds the
Trapezun-
tine empire.*

* Nicetas in Baldwin. * Acrop. cap. 7. Aithon. cap. 13. P Du Fresne sub Alex. Mag.

bound himself to furnish the sultan of Iconium with two hundred lances. He was succeeded by,

2. ——— Commenus; and he by

3. ——— Comnenus; of whose name and father we know nothing. His successors.

John Comnenus; the first, as is generally supposed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted, a little higher, that he probably assumed it out of emulation to Michael Palæologus. A contemporary author, who was prothonotary to Palæologus, says, that John rather suffered himself to be complimented with it by the Greeks, out of contempt to that usurper, who, by his submission to the pope, and uniting the Greek and Latin churches, had rendered himself odious to them. Another, who lived near the same time, affirms, that the province of Trapezond was anciently under the government of dukes, who were sent thither in that quality by the Constantinopolitan emperors; that one of those governors, having rendered himself absolute, took upon him the title of king. We do not find that Michael made any opposition to it. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, obliged him to confirm it; at least he thought fit to court his friendship and alliance, by offering him his daughter Eudocia Palæologina in marriage; which John readily accepted, and went to Constantinople to espouse her: and it is probable that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed by his father-in-law. All that we know farther of him is, that he was earnestly courted by pope Nicolas IV. to engage in the Holy War about the year 1291; and that he died about four years after, and left two sons by his wife Eudocia, namely, Alexius II. who succeeded him, and John his younger brother, whom that princess took with her, being then very young, to Constantinople, soon after the emperor's death.

A.D. 1281.

Alliance with Michael.

A.D. 1295.

Death.

Alexius II.

5. Alexius II. was born in 1282, and left, by his father's last will, under the guardianship of Andronicus Palæologus the elder. He married the daughter of an Iberian prince, though he had the offer of a much richer wife, which Andronicus Augustus had designed for him. He defeated the Genoese, and soon after entered into an alliance with them. He was succeeded by his son

A.D. 1303.

6. Basilus I. who was compelled to take arms, in order to gain his paternal inheritance. He was highly courted by

Basilus I.

A.D. 1310.

9 Vincent. Bellouac. lib. ann. 1240. Ogerius apud Wadd. Vide Du Fresne sub Joh. Comnen. Aithon. cap. 13. Pachym. lib. vi. cap. 33, & seq. Gregoras, lib. v. & vi. Boov. sub ann. 1282. 1. 12. Gregor. lib. xi.

pope John XXII. to go over to the church of Rome *. His first wife, or, as some think, his second, was Eudocia, the natural daughter of Andronicus Palæologus the younger †. He was succeeded by

Basilus II. 7. Basilus II. called also the Younger, to distinguish him, as is supposed, from his father. He married Irene Palæologina, the daughter of Andronicus the younger; which proves that he must be different from the former, who had married Eudocia, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the Greek church to marry two sisters. Irene, however, was afterwards divorced, to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was much enamoured; a circumstance which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after contrived their ruin: she caused him to be killed by some private means; and she sent her with her children, under a guard, to Constantinople. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched an embassy to her father, desiring him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at Trapezond, than an insurrection was raised against her, which ended in a civil war, in which Tzanychita, a Trapezuntine nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed ‡. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that Basil the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339 §. He left children both by his wife and by his concubine. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

A.D. 1339.

Cut off by his wife.

Her reign raises a revolt.

Basil's death.

— Comnenus.

Alexius III. and Eudocia.

Married to the old emperor.

8. — Comnenus, whose Christian name has not been transmitted to us; and this last by his son Alexius.

9. Alexius III. and the famed princess Eudocia Comnena seem, by all circumstances of time and place, to have been brother and sister, though their father's name is not recorded by any historian; neither is it easy to guess at what time the former began to reign. His sister was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and, after having been married some time to a Turkish nobleman of great distinction, by whom she had several children, as soon as she was a widow she was courted and betrothed to Manuel, the son of John, emperor of Constantinople, who brought her accordingly thither to consummate his marriage: but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, became so enamoured of her, that he married her himself

* Os. Reinald. sub ann. 1329. n. 95. * Greg. lib. xi. Vide Du Fresnoie in Basil. II. Excerpt. ex Greg. apud Du Fresnoie in Basil. II. p. 193. * Vigner. in Bibl. Hister,

about the year 1280^a, that is, towards the end of his life and reign: at which time this Alexius was upon the throne of Trapezond. This last married, if we believe Laonicus, some great lady of the Cantacuzenian family; who, being already in love with a Trapezuntine nobleman, said to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, was reported to carry on a shameful intrigue with him. His eldest son was no sooner apprised of it, than he took an opportunity to dispatch her paramour, and then shut her up, with the emperor, in a room, with a design to have sent them both out of the world by the same way. He was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double paricide, and forced to fly into Spain. Alexius was so exasperated at his son, that he disinherited him, and named Alexander, his younger son, to succeed him; but John found means, by the help of some Spaniards and Genoese, to return to Trapezond, where he privately murdered his father, and afterwards ordered him to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being suspected of having had any concern in his death^b.

*Alexius
murdered
by his son.*

10. John II. called also Calo-Johannes, having thus dispatched his father, mounted the throne; but found it very difficult to keep himself upon it: for the Turks, by this time grown very powerful, attacked him on all sides; so that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ducats to Amurath, and afterwards to his son Mohammed II. to enjoy the quiet possession of his dominions. At his death, he left only one son, named Alexius, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive, with the rest of the family, at the taking of Trapezond by Mohammed, and a daughter, named Catharina Comnena, who was, by her uncle David, given to Asan Beigh, vulgarly called Usun Gazanes, in order to prevail upon that monarch to assist him against the continual irruptions of the Turks^c. John had these two by the daughter of one of the kings of Spain, whom he married during his abode in that country. Some assert she was David's own daughter^d, the last emperor of Trapezond; but without any foundation: for Laonicus expressly calls her the daughter of John; and David himself, in his letter to Philip duke of Burgundy, says, that she was the daughter of Calo-Johannes^e.

A.D. 1449.

John II.

^a Laonic. lib. ii. Phranz. lib. iii. cap. 47. ^b Vide & Phranz. lib. ii. cap. 1. Ducas, cap. 52, & 45. Du Fresnoy sub Alexandr. p. 194. ^c Lounel. in Pand. Turc. n. 188. & Vignier. Bibl. Histor. in an. 1456. Vid. & Cruis, Nor. in Turco-Græc. p. 32. ^d Spandugin. Plus in Asia, cap. 33, & 21. ^e Jænez Sylv. Epist. 391.

*David the
last empe-
ror.*

*Trapezond
taken by
Moham-
med.*

11. David Comnenus, the third brother of John, and last emperor of Trapezond, usurped the crown from his nephew, the young son of Alexius. He was a man of a savage and cowardly disposition. He had married the princess Irene of the Cantacuzene family, a lady celebrated for her greatness of soul, and constancy under adversity. Mohammed II. surnamed the Great, who by that time had made himself master of Græcia, Rascia, and Servia, and of the city of Constantinople, declared war against David, under pretence that he had assisted Usun Cazanes king of Persia, and was become tributary to him. David had neither courage nor strength to oppose him; so that he marched directly to his capital, and closely invested it by sea and land. The siege had lasted little above a month, when David, having in vain implored the assistance of the Christian princes, particularly of Charles VII. king of France, agreed to deliver up his metropolis, with the whole empire, on condition that his and his family's lives should be spared; that he himself should be permitted to carry with him all his children and treasures into Europe, and have a sufficient revenue assigned for their subsistence. Mohammed at first refused these offers with great indignation, not doubting to be soon master of that metropolis; but a second parley being desired, he in appearance accepted of them; but, having got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherously caused him to be loaded with chains, and kept close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife, daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to Constantinople. Of the rest of the Trapezuntines he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his officers and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people; put a strong guard of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers into the town; and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in a few months, and he returned triumphant to Constantinople.

^a Dorothe. Monemb. and Leon. Allat. de Consens. utr. Eccles. ^b Phranz. lib. iii. Spandug. Laonic. ^c Phranz. lib. iii. Spandug. Laonic. Dorothe. Monemb. & alii. Vide & Cruis. Du Fresne, & auct. ab eis citat.

Soon after his arrival, he sent the emperor David, and his children, prisoners to Adrianople; and, in the sequel, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour, by the wife of Usum Cazanes, he caused them to be put to death. He endeavoured to destroy the whole Comnenian family; and none of them were spared, but George the youngest son of David, who turned Mohammedan; and one of his sisters, who became afterwards Mohammed's concubine¹. Thus ended the Trapezuntine empire, in the year of Christ 1462, and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation.

A.D. 1462

The royal family butchered by him.



C H A P. LXXXI.

The ancient State and History of Spain, to the Expulſion of the Carthaginians by the Romans; and briefly continued to the Deſcent of the Northern Nations; and the uniting of its ſeveral Kingdoms under Ferdinand and Iſabella.

S E C T. I.

Description of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to Spain was Gaul, from whence it was ſeparated on the north by the Pyrenees, we may conſider it as a peninſula. On the other ſides, we find it ſurrounded by the Mediterranean; the Sinus Gaditanus, or bay of Gades; the Fretum Herculeum, or Streights of Gibraltar; the weſtern ocean; and ſea of Cantabria. It extended, from eaſt to weſt, near 13 degrees; ſince Liſbon is 9 degrees 30 minutes weſt of London, and cape de Bauger in Catalonia 3 degrees 15 minutes eaſt of that city: and from north to ſouth about 9 degrees 40 minutes; for cape de Ortegal, the northern extremity of modern Spain, is in 44 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, and the ſouthermoſt point of Tariffa in 35 degrees 50 minutes north latitude. According to this

Limits and extent of Spain.

¹ Leonic. lib. ix. & x. Hiſt. Politic. p. xi. Ricant Ottoman Empire, &c.

determination, ancient Spain, including Lusitania or Portugal, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of ancient and modern Spain are the same, they may be considered as entirely the same region.

Names of
Spain.

The generality of the Greek writers call Spain *Iberia*, Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon Mount Caucasus, planted there; or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the most famous rivers of this country. However, the ancients, who lived before Polybius, by Iberia understood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the Streights of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean, the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt is said to have derived its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called *Egyptus*. But notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts settling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean.

Whence
called Spania,
or Hispania.

The generality of Spanish writers derive its name from Hispan, the son of Hercules, or Hispal, one of their fabulous kings; and father Briet from Pan, the lieutenant of Bacchus, to which the syllable *bis*, which, in the Teutonic tongue, signifies *west*, was added, to denote its situation with respect to the rest of Europe: but it appears from Bochart and others, that the Phœnicians called Spain, at least that part of it known to them, *ḤḤḤ* Sphanija, or Spanija, from *ḤḤ* *shaphan* or *span*, a rabbit, because it abounded with those animals. That the *shaphan* of the Phœnicians answered to the rabbit, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near resemblance to the latter, the Phœnicians, at their first arrival in Spain, might take them to be the same animal, and from thence impose upon this country a name which has ever since prevailed. The ancients sometimes, from its western situation, called Spain by the name of *Hesperia*, and *Hesperia Ultima*: but these, and other poetical appellations, being also given to Italy, as well as to other western coun-

* Strab. lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 1. Ptol. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 4. Vid. & Christianus. Callist. in Geogr. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 1. sub init. Morden, Moll, Cluver, &c.

tries, we shall take no farther notice of, except that there were two principal Hesperias, namely, the Great, which was Italy; and the Less, which was Spain: these were likewise distinguished into Citerior and Uterior, or the Neerer and the Farther¹.

As Spain, before the Carthaginians made any conquests there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own reguli, and independent of each other, it must have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the precise number of which it is impossible for us to determine. What number of provinces the Carthaginians divided that part of Spain subject to them into, for want of sufficient light from history, we must likewise own ourselves incapable of ascertaining. As for the Romans, the first division they made of Spain, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into Hispania Citerior, and Hispania Uterior; and this, according to Livy, took place immediately after the conclusion of the second Punic war. However, for some political reasons, they thought proper to unite these two provinces in the beginning of the Macedonian war; and again separated them in the consulate of Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus. This last disposition of Spain remained till the reign of Augustus, who altered it, by dividing Hispania Uterior into two provinces, Provincia Bætica and Lusitania, and affixing the name of Provincia Tarraconensis to Hispania Citerior. In some of the succeeding reigns we find Hispania Uterior and Hispania Citerior again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division introduced by Augustus, continued as long as the Romans had any power in Spain, appears extremely probable, both from the ancient geographers and many antique inscriptions exhibited by Gruter and Reinesius. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here give our readers a geographical description of ancient Spain^m.

Various divisions of Spain.

The limits of Lusitania not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define them. That this province extended from the Tagus to the Cantabrian ocean, or

Limits and extent of Lusitania.

¹ Euseb. in Chron. p. 13. Epiphan. in Hæres. lxxvi. sect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian. Scholiast. Vet. Salmat. & Casaub. ap. Bochart, in Chan. lib. i. cap. 32. ut & ipse Bochart, ibid. Strab. lib. iii. p. 144—158. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 5. & lib. viii. cap. 29, 58. Ælian. de Animal. lib. i. adv. 15. Shaw's Physical Observations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c. p. 56. * Polyb. & Liv. pass. Cic. pro Fonteio, cap. 3. & pro lege Manil. cap. 12. Strab. in Extrem. Par. Geogr. Dio, lib. lvi. p. 503. Pompon. Mel. lib. i. cap. 6. Solin. cap. 22. Tacit. Ann. iv. cap. 15. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 2. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. & Luc. Moëtius in loc. Grot. Inscript. xlii. p. 31. & alibi. Reines. Inscript. Claf. ii. not. 13. & alibi. Cellar. ubi supra.

at least the Promontorium Celticum, is intimated by Strabo. That part of it, situated betwixt the Anas and the Tagus, went by the name of Celtica, or the country of the Celts, as has been observed by Isaac Vossius. After Augustus had made the disposition of Spain already mentioned, the Anas bounded Lusitania on the south, and the Durius, or Douro of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract, lying betwixt the Durius and the Cantabrian ocean, was annexed to the Provincia Tarraconensis. The interior limits of Lusitania, upon the frontiers of the Vettones and Carpetani, are fixed differently by different authors. The Lusitani possessed the district bordering upon the Atlantic ocean, and stretching itself from the mouth of the Anas to the Promontorium Sacrum, now known by the name of Cape St. Vincent. The situation of the Celtici, whose true name was Mirobrigeneses, according to Pliny, may be collected from what has been already observed. Some of the ancient geographers make the Turduli and the Turdetani one nation, particularly Ptolemy and Strabo; though they were considered in a different light by Polybius. Be that as it may, the Turdetani were undoubtedly a powerful people, since they occupied a considerable part both of Lusitania and Bætica, as appears from Strabo. The same may be said of the Vettones, who spread themselves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the Durius, and on the south by the Tagus. However, as the ancients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of those nations or cantons possessed, it is probable that their frontiers were not always the same. Some authors assert Vettonia, or the country of the Vettones, to have been a province distinct from Lusitania, and limited on the south by the Anas; and this notion is countenanced by an inscription in Gruter^a. The principal cities of this province are the following:

On the sea-coast, 1. Barbarium Promontorium. 2. Olisippo. 3. Tagi Fluvii Ostia. 4. Fontes Fluv. 5. Lunæ Montis Promontorium. 6. Mondæ Fluv. Ostia. 7. Vaci Fluv. Ostia. 8. Doræ Fluv. Ostia. 9. Hannibal.

The inland were, 1. Lavara. 2. Aritium. 3. Selium. 4. Elbocoris. 5. Araducta. 6. Verarium. 7. Velladia. 8. Eminium. 9. Chetina. 10. Arabriga. 11. Scalabifcus. 12. Tacubis. 13. Concordia. 14. Talabriga. 15. Lango-
briga. 16. Mendecula. 17. Castrum. 18. apud Mogum.

^a Strab. lib. iii. p. 96, 105. & alibi. Isaac Vossius in Pompon. Mel. Plin. ut supra. Polyb. ubi supra. Prudent. Passion. Eulal. ver. 186. Petr. de Marca, Marca Hispanic. lib. ii. cap. 2. Grut. Inscript. p. 213. 217. & Celler. ubi supra.

19. Burdua. 20. Colarnum. 21. Mallæcus. 22. Ammea.
23. Eburæ or Eboræ. 24. Norba Cæsarea. 25. Liciniana.
26. Augusta Emerita. 27. Evandria. 28. Geræa. 29. Cæ-
cilia Gemistina. 30. Capasa. 31. Conimbrica. 32. Collipo.
33. Bletifa. 34. Salmantica. 35. Salatia. 36. Pax Julia,
and some others of less note.

It will not be expected that we should give a particular description of those places, a great part of which we know little of but the names. The most remarkable are as follows.

Olisipo, Olisippo, or Oliosipon, since called Lisboa by the Portuguese, and by us Lisbon, stands at the mouth of the Tagus, and was corruptly named by several of the ancients Ulysippo; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by Ulysses, in his return from the Trojan war: but this notion ought to be treated as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof. We cannot therefore but believe, that Olisipo, or Olisippo, which from Pliny, the Itinerary, and Gruter, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two Phœnician words *עליז עבא* *alis ubbo*, or *olis ippo*, the pleasant bay; for that the ancient Olisipo was seated on a bay we learn from Mela; and that the bay, on which Lisbon stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. Olisipo, or Lisbon, the capital of the present kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, is in 39 degrees 10 minutes north attitude, and 9 degrees 30 minutes west of London °.

Talabrica, or Talabriga, a city seated upon the Vacus, mentioned by Pliny, Antoninus, and Appian. The citizens of Talabriga, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the Romans, appear to have had an implacable aversion to that people °.

Langobriga (B), a town situated between the Vacus and the Durus, near the sea-coast. As both Pliny and Anto-

° Solin. cap. 23. Grut. Inscript. p. 252. not. 5. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. Cellar. ubi supra, p. 56. Pompon. Mela, & Mercator. apud Bochart. ubi supra, ut & ipse Bochart. ibid. p. Antónin. Itinerr. Plin. lib. iii. Appian. in Bell. Hispan.

(B) The word *Briga* or *Bri-ga*, in the old Spanish language, signified a city, as we learn from Reser. advan. Therefore Ceto (Briga), Lango-briga, Meidobriga, &c. are equivalent to the city of Ceto, the city of Ara, the city of Lango, the city of Meido, &c. Hence probably came the words Brigantes, Brigantii, Brigæ-cum, Brigobanna, &c. all which are evidently of Celtic extraction (1).

(1) Laur. Andr. Reser. in Antiq. Lusitan. lib. iv. Ceto-briga.

ninus take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some consequence.

Araduſta.

Araduſta, or, according to Reineſius, *Ara Traduſta*, a Roman town, ſtanding to the weſt of *Langoſtiga*. Our readers will find it in Ptolemy's liſt of the towns appertaining to *Luſitania*.

Eminium.

Eminium, a city of this province mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, near the northern bank of the *Munda* a little to the ſouth of *Talabriga*.

Conimbrico.

Conimbrica, a city ſituated on the oppoſite bank of the *Monda*. Out of the ruins of this place has ariſen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the fineſt towns in Portugal, celebrated all over the learned world for the famous univerſity which has ſo long flouriſhed there.

Arabriga, Sellium, and Concordia.

Arabriga, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* and the *Tagus*, were places of ſome note, though we have ſcarce any particulars relating to them preſerved by the ancient geographers.

Collippo.

Collippo, a Roman municipium, between the *Munda* and the *Tagus*, upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean. We find this town named, by an inſcription in Gruter, *Collipro*; but that the *r* there was originally a *p*, appears from the beſt manuſcripts of Pliny, as well as another inſcription. Not far from this city, in a ſouth-ſouth-ſouth-ſouth direction, ſtood *Eburobritium*, or as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the ſtones that preſerved the above mentioned inſcriptions were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, ſome believe that the ruins of the ancient *Collippo* are to be found there.

Scalabis.

Scalabis, or *Scalabiſcus*, as ſome think it called by Ptolemy, has been conſidered by Cellarius as the fifth Roman colony of *Luſitania*, ſurnamed *Præſidium Julium*. The Spaniſh writers almoſt unanimouſly agree that the ſpot on which this town ſtood, is at preſent occupied by *Santerien*, a Portugueſe town, about forty miles north-eaſt of *Liſbon*; though the *Scalabiſcus* of Ptolemy had a ſituation aſſigned it to the north of the *Munda*.

Aritium Prætorium and Hierabriga.

Aritium Prætorium and *Hierabriga*, in the neighbourhood of *Scalabis*, are mentioned by the Itinerary. The former place ſtood thirty-eight Roman miles from *Oliſippo*, and the latter thirty.

Norba Caſarea.

Norba Caſarea, a town of repute during the government of the Romans in Spain, on the ſouthern bank of the

¹ Ptol. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. 3. ² Tho. Reines, apud Cellar. ubi ſupra.
³ Laur. And. Reland. in Antiq. Luſitan. lib. iv.
⁴ Antonin. ubi ſupra. ⁵ Grut. Inſcript. p. 323, & p. 1155.
⁶ Plin. & Cellar. ubi ſupra.

Tagus, near the famous stone bridge built over that river, and dedicated to Trajan. Pliny calls the inhabitants of this city Colonia Norbensis. Some Spanish authors believe Norba Caesarca to have been contiguous to Trajan's bridge; but other writers of that nation, well versed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. Pliny and Ptolemy favour the sentiment of those who place Norba at some distance from the bridge, since they make that town, or, which is the same thing, the Colonia Norbensis, to have been situated in a territory on the south of the Tagus. We are informed by an ancient Roman inscription in Gruter, that the Roman municipia of Lusitania, by sums raised amongst themselves, finished the aforesaid bridge in the reign of the emperor Trajan. The names of these municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preserved by a stone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or town of Norba, and are these; Icadita, Lancia Oppidana, Arabriga, Mirobriga, Lancia Transcudana, Colarnum, Meidobriga, and Interamnina. Some, if not all of these municipia, undoubtedly made a considerable figure, though we are supplied with very few particulars relating to them by the ancient geographers and historians *.

Bletisa was situated near some of the above mentioned municipia, on the southern bank of the Durus, as may be inferred from an inscription in Gruter. The modern name of Bletisa is Ledesma, according to Mariana. With respect to any farther particulars of this place we are entirely in the dark *.

Salmantica, called at this day Salamanca, was in the neighbourhood of Bletisa, as appears from the above mentioned inscription. It is at present famous all over the world, on account of the flourishing university founded there, which, for many ages, has been deemed the principal seat of literature in Spain. Salman-
tica.

Augusta Emerita, the capital of this province in the Roman times, upon the Anas, was built by a body of superannuated soldiers, to whom Augustus assigned a district in Lusitania, from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by ancient Roman coins and inscriptions. Emerita at first appertained to the Turduli, according to Strabo; though afterwards it was ranked with the towns of the Vettones, as we learn from Prudentius *. Augusta
Emerita.

* Plin. Ptol. Refend. ubi supra. Nonius & Vassus apud Cellar. ubi supra, p. 51. Grut. Inscript. p. 162. * Marian. lib. vii. cap. 4. 7 Strab. ubi sup. Dio, lib. lxxviii. p. 114. Num. August. & Num. Titus. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 60. Prudent. ubi sup. Ludov. Non. cap. 31.

Ebora.

Ebora, called by the Romans, *Liberalitas Julia*, was seated between the Tagus and the Anas, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The same spot is at present occupied by Evora, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a Latin municipium, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions^a.

Salacia.

Salacia, the Alacer do Sal of the moderns, stood some miles to the west of Ebora. From some ancient inscriptions in Gruter it may be inferred that this place was a Roman municipium.

Pax Julia

Pax Julia, the Beja of the moderns, a city in the southern part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the Turdetani, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and Antoninus. Near this place a great number of Roman coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the Anas, the Atlantic ocean, and bay of Gades, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by Pomponius Mela and Strabo. Myrtilis, Balsa, Ossonaba, and other places of this tract, do not deserve any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to Refendius, Mortola, or Mertola, a modern town upon the Anas, and Tanilla, or Tavira, a considerable city of Algarve, answer to the ancient Myrtilis and Balsa. Ossonaba, if we believe the same author, has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of Faro, another town of Algrave, upon the sea-coast. The *Lacobriga* of Mela stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in these times by the name of Cape St. Vincent, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called Lagoa by the Portuguese, near the city of Lagos, where some ruins are still to be seen^a.

The Lusitanians, if we credit Strabo, preferred existing upon the plunder of their neighbours to the improving their lands, though naturally fertile and rich. In other cases their manner of living was rude and simple. They used to warm themselves by means of fire-stones made red hot. They bathed in cold water, eat only of one dish at a meal, and that very sparingly. Their dress was commonly black. They made no use of coin, but either bartered a commodity for another, or, for some plates of silver, flattened with the hammer, and cut into pieces. They used, like the Egyp-

^a Gruter. Inscript. p. 43. n. 9. ^a Plin. Ptol. Antonin. ubi
supra. Pompon. Mel. & Strab. ubi supra. Laur. Andr. Refend. in
Antiquit. Lusitan. Grut. Inscript. passim.

tians, Gauls, and other ancient nations, to expose their sick on the highways, that travellers might direct them to proper medicines for their cure. They were exceedingly robust, and so warlike, that the Romans did not conquer them without great difficulty and length of time.

The chief promontories of Lusitania were the Promontorium Sacrum, Promontorium Barbarium, and the Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense; to which some add a fourth, called by Pliny Cuneus. The Promontorium Sacrum, or Cape St. Vincent, formed an angle, projecting into the bay of Gades and the Atlantic ocean, which was termed the western extremity of the world by Strabo. The Promontorium Barbarium, at present Cape Spichel, lay to the south of Olisipo, though not very distant from the mouth of the Tagus. The Promontorium Magnum, or Olisiponense, styled by some of the moderns Cape de Rocca Sintra, projected into the Atlantic ocean near Olisipo, and was esteemed by Pliny the common boundary of earth, sea, and heaven. As for Pliny's Cuneus, it is supposed to be the promontory now known by the name of Cape St. Mary, by Cellarius.

Promontories of Lusitania.

The principal ports of this province were those of Olisipo, at present Lisbon, and Hannibal. The situation of the former is so well known as not to admit of a dispute; but that of the latter cannot be so easily ascertained. Mela, upon whose authority it entirely depends, places it near the Promontorium Sacrum; which is all that we can say of it. The only island described by the ancients, on the coast of Lusitania, is the Londobris of Ptolemy, the Barlenga or Barlinges of the moderns.

Ports and islands.

The Mons Herminius of Hirtius, the modern Arminno, was the only mountain of note in this country. It is rather a long ridge of mountains, since known by the name of Sierra de Estrella, and running from north to south, between the provinces of Beira and Tra los Montes. On the top are two lakes of vast extent, and very deep, one of them especially, which they have never yet been able to fathom. It is still more surprising, that they are calm when the sea is so, and rough when that is stormy. Hence, as well as from the loud and dreadful noise they make, which is echoed by the adjacent hills, and heard at many leagues distance, they are judged to have some subterranean communication with the ocean; which is still farther confirmed by wrecks of ships which are sometimes thrown up by their

Mountains.

Strabo, lib. iii. * Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. & alibi, & Hardouin. in loc. Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 5. Cellar. ubi supra. * Mel. lib. iii. cap. 2.

waves, though at near four miles distance from the sea. Herminius Minor, now *Sierra de Marvão*, from the city of that name, is part of the greater Herminius, and runs into the province of Alentejo; but is not near so considerable. The warlike inhabitants of the former were called *Plumbarii*, from their lead-mines and works; and, according to Cellarius, the city of *Medobriga* or *Meidobriga*, stood at the foot of it^e.

Rivers.

The most celebrated rivers of Lusitania were the *Anas*, the *Tagus* (now *Tajo*), and the *Durius*. The *Anas* is called at present the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus* the *Tajo*, and the *Durius* the *Douro*. To these may be added the *Munda*, which now goes under the name of the *Mondego*; and the *Vacus*, now called the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themselves into the Atlantic ocean^t.

Curiosities.

We shall here only mention some few natural curiosities of Lusitania: 1. The lead-mine near *Meidobriga*, from whence *Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarii*; which still exists. 2. The golden sand, or small particles of gold, mixed with the sand of the *Tagus*. This we find attested by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, and *Silius Italicus*; and the truth of it seems confirmed by *Resendius*; for that famous antiquary assures us, that some of those golden particles were found, intermixed with the sand of the *Tagus*, in his time; but that the laws of Portugal would not permit people to throw up the interior sand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with which these particles are supposed to be incorporated, lest the neighbouring fruitful fields should be thereby damaged. He adds, that the kings of Portugal have a sceptre of the *Tagan gold*; than which no purer is to be found in the world^s. 3. Besides the two lakes already described, we may add the famed pool near *Roya*, remarkable for its hideous noise, like that of thunder at a distance, which is commonly heard before a storm, at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles. 4. Another pool, near the river *Mondego*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and by many modern authors, which is observed to swallow every thing that is thrown into it, though ever so light. We might add the great variety of hot and medicinal, and other surprising springs, with which this kingdom abounds; these may be seen in *Valens's* description of it, who adds, that the single province, formerly called *Interfluvium*, and now *Entre Duero e Minho*, hath no less than two thousand land constantly flowing with clear and excellent water.

^e Hist. cap. 22. Cellar. ubi supra, p. 60, 61, & seq. ^t Prodr. ubi supra. ^s Pompon. Mela. lib. ii. cap. 2. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. & lib. xxxiii. cap. 4.

The second province of Hispania Ulterior, or Farther Spain, was Bætica, so called from the famed river Bætis, since Tartessus, and now Guadalquivir, or the Great River. We have already mentioned its limits on the west or Lusitanic side; it was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulph of Gades; and on the north by the Cantabric sea, now the sea of Biscay. Its limits towards the north-east, or province of Tarraco, cannot be so well fixed, because they are rightly supposed to have been in a constant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to inroach upon his neighbour^h. The Bætis divided this province into two parts; on the one side of which, towards the Anas, were situate the Turdetani, from whence the country was called Turdetania, but better known by the name of Bæturia. On the other side were situated the Bastuli, Bastitani, and Contestani, along the Mediterranean coasts. We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may see them in Cellarius above mentioned.

Bætica described.

Its inhabitants.

We come now to speak of the Roman colonies in this province; which Pliny says was the most fertile, best cultivated, and pleasantest of all the rest: The Romans had four tribunals, or, as they styled them, *Conventus juridici*; namely, 1. Gades, now Cadiz: 2. Cordova: 3. Astigi, now Ecija: 4. Hispal, now Seville. They had, besides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were styled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchise of *Latium*; six free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary^l.

Roman colonies.

The whole province of Bætica, according to the last quoted author's division, contained what we now call Andalusia, part of the kingdom of Granada, and the outward boundaries of Extremadura.

With respect to the cities and colonies above mentioned, we shall, for brevity's sake, single out only some of the most celebrated; namely, that of the Accitani, situate between the Bastuli and Bastitani, along the same shore. We find it mentioned by Pliny^k, and by some ancient inscriptions, under the name of *Colonia Julia Gemella Accitana*^l, whose citizens were called *Gemellenses*, because that colony was composed of two legions, the third and sixth, as appears from inscriptions^m. It is supposed to be the

^h Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 1. i) Et i. Gerund. ^l Vid. Briet. Parallel. part. 2. lib. ix. cap. 3. ^k Hist. lib. iii. cap. 1. ^m Grut. p. 271. n. 6. ⁿ Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 4. sect. 3.

present city of Guadiz in Granada, an ancient episcopal see, formerly called the Accitanus, from Acci, the name of that city. Those of Gades, Corduba, Astigi, and Hispal, were famous for their courts of judicature. The other four, whose situation is less known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may see in Briet's Parallel.

*Their ci-
ties.*

How few of those ancient cities this province had before the introduction of the Romans, is not difficult to guess, if we only consult the best ancient authors with any tolerable attention; though, if we were to trust to the Spanish writers, it must have not only abounded with them, but they must likewise have been vastly large, populous, and opulent, even before the arrival of the Tyrians, Phœnicians, and other nations. But, when we come to examine things more closely, we find no traces of this boasted number of cities: on the contrary it is plain, that, when the Turdetani had, at the instigation of Hannibal, assisted the brave Saguntines their neighbours against the Romans, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not even recorded. Ptolemy mentions only one sea-port town on the coast of the Bastitani; namely, that of Οὐρκε, Urce, since Vorgi, in the bay of that name, though we find some considerable places on those coasts, such as Menobia, Abdera, Portus Magnus, Beria, Murgis, and some others. In the inland parts, were likewise a considerable number, which Pliny, in his Natural History, tells us in his time, amounted to a hundred and seventy-two. The greatest part of these being, in all appearance, and from the Roman names given them, either founded or enlarged by that nation, such as those of Asta Nebrisa, Ugia, and Orippe, on the banks of the Bætis, below Hispal; we have not time to dwell upon them, but shall content ourselves with a short recital of those of the greatest note. Among these is the famed city of Hispal, now Seville, situate on the river Bætis, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought a vast quantity of merchandize to this city, and thence quite up to Corduba. This city is styled by Pliny Colonia Romulensis, and by some ancient inscriptions Colonia Romulea. The next city in rank to Hispal is Corduba, or ~~Utrique~~ ^{Utrique}, no less famed for its rich mines, and for the appellation, the poet calls it, Aurifera Terra, than the other was for its

Hispal.

Corduba.

^a Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 6. lib. xxiv. cap. 42.
^b Sil. Ital. lib. iii. ver. 401.

^c De his vide Cellar.

trade. It is situate on the banks of the same river, was called a patrician colony, and is said by Strabo to have been the work of Marcellus; but which of the Roman generals so called, he leaves us to guess. Tartessus was once a famed city, pleasantly seated between the two mouths of the Bætis, which made a kind of island, called after the name of that city, Tartessida. This ancient city is celebrated by some of the Latin poets, as situate on the farthest verge of the western shore. *Tartessus.*

We come now to the famous bays and ports of this province; the first of which, next to Gades, is that called Portus Menestæus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who likewise places here the oracle of that name. The next is that of Besippo, the country of the famed Pomponius Mela, and some others, without the Streight's mouth. Calpe, Carteia, Barbeful, Cilniana, Solduba, Suel, and Malaca, within the Streight, and on the coasts of the Bastuli. Menoba, Selumbina, Abdera, and Portus Magnus, and likewise the famed promontory of Charidemus, are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and placed by them on the Bastitanian coasts. Beyond the promontory lately mentioned are the cities of Baria or Barea, and Murgis, in the Virgitanian bay; the former of which is reckoned by Ptolemy, and the latter by Pliny, the last sea-port of the Bastitani. Those ancient authors, however, do not agree about the situation, names, and some other particulars relating to those cities. For instance, Calpe, which is by Strabo styled a famed ancient Spanish sea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned Bochart and Casaubon have thought, that Calpe, in the former, was inserted, by the mistake of the transcriber, for Carteia, especially as no notice is taken in the others of any city besides it in that bay. But this has been in a great measure answered, by some learned men, from the inscription on a medal, with these letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it, Colonia Julia Calpe: and this they support with a passage out of N. Damascen; who says, that Octavius overtook Cæsar near the city of Calpia, which is the same with Calpe: so that Strabo's text wants no amendment, and one of these two opinions must be right; either that there were several cities situate on the mouth of the Streight, on account of its advantageous situation, one of which was call-

Bays and ports.

Menestæus Portus.

Baria. Murgis.

Calpe.

1 Strab. ubi supra.

2 enotaph. Pisan. p. 207. cap. 1. sect 2. art. 34.

3 Spanh. de Præst. Numism. p. 766. Norris

4 Excerpt. Valesi. apud Cellar. lib. ii.

ed Calpe or Calpa, or else, that the Carteia, which was situate near the promontory of Calpe, had likewise taken that name from it; and accordingly the Itinerary mentions a city, in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, called Calpe Carteia, joining thereby those two names, probably to show that they signified the same thing. Barbesul, Asta, and some other sea-ports, appear likewise to have been considerable colonies, as well as a number of inland towns, in particular that of Munda, where Cæsar defeated the sons of Pompey.

*The river,
Bætis, &c.*

There are not any remarkable rivers in this province, except the Bætis, or, as it is sometimes written, Bætes and Betis. It hath, according to Pliny¹, its spring-head in the Tugienian forest, so named from Tugra, a town mentioned in the Itinerarium of Antoninus, in the province of Tarracon, at the foot of the Orespodan mountains. Others of lesser note are the Barbesola, near the city or mount Calpe; the Saduca, which seems to have divided the Bastuli from the Accitani; and some few others not worth regarding. This

Mountains.

province is incumbered with mountains of a considerable length and height. We find, however, but few described by ancient authors. Ptolemy takes notice only of two, the Mariani and Hipylæ, the latter of which were scarcely known to any other ancient writer. These, as they run along the territories of Hispal or Seville, were, we are told, called Hipylæ; and, as they approached nearer to Corduba, denominated Themarini, and Orthoskladæ^a: the former, which are by Pliny called Ariani, run along the famed desert of the same name, now known by that of Sierra Morena, in the neighbourhood of the city of Castulo. The region of the Bastitani was likewise full of them; and all that is necessary to add, with relation to them, is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead; the greatest quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of those called Mariani, from which the Romans reaped considerable advantage, having every where their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overseers of the mines. That of Calpe, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its situation.

Soil, climate, and produce.

The goodness of the soil and air of Spain, in general, is too well known to dwell on. This province was particularly remarkable for it; as appeared from the wealthiness and longev-

¹ Plin. lib. iii. cap. 1.
scilicet de Montibus.

Vide Masin. Sicul. Reb. Hisp. lib. 12.

vity of its inhabitants. And so little did they know of phyfic, that, if we believe Posidonius, they used, like the Lusitani, to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of passengers. He adds, that their very women were so robust and healthy, that they never kept their beds after delivery. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horses and cattle, the former of which they bred in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even made into cheese, without some mixture of water. Fruits of all kinds grow there in the greatest perfection: but these are topics well known to every reader. Mineral waters flow, in the greatest quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of Granada is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues. Some of them rise so hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The most famous of the warm kind are those of Hispal, Cordoua, and Granada; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the most inveterate diseases. There are two others of great reputation; that called Bætio, from a small town near it; it springs, in a small rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two streams, into two lakes; and its waters are celebrated for curing all hæmorrhages, by washing. The other is near the town of Antiquitaria; which is no less distinguished for dissolving the stone, and bringing it off by urine*.

Healthy inhabitants.

Stout women.

Rich mountains.

Natural rarities.

Medicinal waters.

Against hæmorrhages and stones.

Tarracon described.

Its limits.

Divided by the Iberus.

Tarracon, the third province in Spain, was by the Romans styled Hispania Citerior, or Hither Spain, and distinguished, by the name of Tarraconensis, from the ancient city of that name, then the capital of it, and the residence of the Roman præses, or governor. We have seen, under the two former articles, how difficult it is to settle the limits of this province, with respect to those of Bætica and Lusitania, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other sides they are easily determined, it having the Mediterranean on the east, the ocean on the west, and the Cantabrian Sea and the Pyrenees on the north, by which last it is divided from Gaul. Tarracon, being by far the largest of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kingdoms and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river Iberus, now Ebro, which ran almost

* Marin. Sicul. de Reb. Hisp. lib. i. cap. de Fontibus.

Celtiberians, where seated.

Other nations and cantons along the coasts.

In the inland.

Lucenses.

Lacetani, and other tribes.

across the whole province, having its source on the north-west side of it, between the Cantabrian mountains, and very near the sea of that name; and by a south-east course, emptying itself into the Mediterranean, about thirty miles below the city of Tarraco. Along the south-west side of that river were seated the Celtiberians, the most ancient, and by far the most considerable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, so many distinct tribes descended from them, as we are apt to believe, from the greater part of their names being of Celtic rather than of any other extract. This canton was denominated from them Celtiberia, and reached from the mouth of the Iberus quite to the country of the Cantabri, on the opposite coasts. Along the course of it, on that side, were, among other people of less note, the Illæraones, seated just within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the Hedetani or Sedetani, Pelendones, Berones, and lastly the Cantabri. Nearer to Bætica, and on the borders of it, were, towards the Mediterranean, first, the Contestani, mentioned also under the last article; and across the country, towards the opposite shore, another tribe of the Turdctani, the Lobetani, Lusones, Carpetani, Arevacæ, and Vaccæi. These two last were separated from each other by the river Duero, which was the confine of Lusitania on that side. West of the Cantabri and Vaccæi were, on the Cantabrian coast, the Transmontani and Artabri; and in this last was the Artabrum Celticum, called also Promontorium Nericum, now Cape Finisterre. In the inland parts are placed the Astures, Augustani, Lucensis, and Gravii. On the western coast, between the cape above mentioned and the Durus, were the Callaici or Callæci, whose country was called Callæcia, one tribe or canton of which were named Bracarii, and the country Bracara; and these were seated on the banks of the Durus: the others were distinguished by the name of Lucenses; and both were subdivided by Ptolemy into several tribes. All these are mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, as seated, the former on the other side of the Iberus, and the latter on the hither side of the Tagus. On the other side of the Iberus, along the Mediterranean coasts, were situated the Lacetani and Ausetani, who were parted by the river Rubicratus, or, as Mela calls it, Lubricatus, now Lobragat, near the city of Barcelona. Along the Iberus were the Ilsergetes, Jacetani, Sueffitani, Vascones, Varduli, Autrigones, and Concani; and these were seated between the head of the Iberus and the Cantabrian Sea. Nearer to the Pyrenean Mountains, along that vast ridge, were the Cere-tani, Indigetes, Cemsi, Lacetani, and some others of less

con-

consequence. Every one had its distinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe (L). We have already observed in general on this head, that those districts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of Celtic extract; and we shall add here, that this province abounds with such, more than the other two, as may be seen by the list of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in *tani*, the country of course ended in *tania*, as Aufetani and Aufetania.

We find, however, the following colonies to have been planted amongst these Celtic settlements; namely, in Asturia, the famed Colonia Augusta. It is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, and in some ancient medals, though differently placed^y, and was a court of judicature, according to Pliny. It divided the Astures into Augustanos and Transmontanos: we find here also the seventh Roman legion, surnamed Gemina, settled between the Asturian sea, and the capital of this district, called Asturia Augusta, now Astorga, still a city of some note. This country was also celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was the infamous Calaguris, distinguished by Pliny by the name of Nascica, justly execrated, by the Roman authors^z, for the murder of the brave Sertorius, mentioned in a for-

Roman colonies.

Colonia Augusta.

Augusta Gemina.

Calaguris.

^y Vide Goltz. Holstein. & Hardouin. apud Cellar. lib. ii. cap. 1. sect. 3, & 44. Vide Strabo, lib. iii. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 22. ^z Vide Valer. Max. lib. vii. cap. 6. L. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 22.

(L) Thus the Bracarii had Bracara, the Artabri Artabrum, the Astures Asturia, the Sueffitani Sueffa, the Lacetani Lacca, the Ilergetes Ilerda; and so of the rest, unless where the Romans, settling afterwards, called those towns by new names; especially we find some few of those places styled Julia and Augusta, as Julia Libyca, in the canton of the Ceretani; Cæsar Augusta, among the Lacetani; Augusta Bracara, Porta Augusta, as Julia Lacus, in Galicia, and the like.

Here we must observe, that this last province was not called so from the Galli, as some have

imagined, but from its ancient metropolis, which was called Calle, situate in a pleasant valley upon the Durus, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become considerable in time, was since named barely Porto and Puerto by the Spaniards, by the Dutch Port a Port, and by us Oporto. From these two, Porto and Calle, came the name of Portugal, or Portucalle. As for Calle, it must be owned, that it is not mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, &c. but we find it in the Itinerarium, which places it on the road between Ulisippo, or Lisbon, and Augusta Bracara (1).

(1) Cellar. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 1. sect. 3.

mer volume. The city was at first municipal, in some inscriptions, surnamed Julia, and then made a colony, with some others mentioned by Pliny*, particularly those of Osca, Ilerda, and Turiasa. Calaguris, since Calahorta, was the chief town of the Autrigones, seated indifferently by geographers on either side, but by the most exact on the other side the Iberus. Grachuris, or Graccuris, placed by Ptolemy among the chief cities of the Vascones, was, as we are told by Livy, built by Tit. Sempron. Gracchus, who took it from the Celtiberians, and called it by his name. Its situation is uncertain; only the Itinerarium places it in the road to Cæsar Augusta, at sixty-four miles distance from it, in the road to Tarraco. It is, in some ancient inscriptions, styled Municipium Graccuris. Some Christian champions, who suffered here for the faith in those early times, are, in some martyrologies, called the Grachurian, and in others the Ilerdan martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of those two places. The last we shall name is the famous town of the Vaccæi, called Intercata, celebrated by ancient authors for a single combat, which was fought, at the siege of that city, between Scipio Æmilianus and a bold Spanish tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no sooner escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first who scaled the walls of that place^b. We come now to treat of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may justly place the metropolis.

*Graccuris.**Intercata.**Tarraco.*

Tarraco, now Tarragon, situate on the Mediterranean coast, between the rivers Iberus, or Ibero, and the Rubricatus, now Lobregat. It was a colony planted by the two Scipios, Publ. and Cornel. with a juridical court; and was the capital of Hispania Romana^c: but Spanish authors, though they grant those two Roman generals to have planted a colony here, will by no means allow that they founded the city; but derive its origin as high as Hercules, or even Tubal^d.

*Saguntus.**Valentia.*

Below Tarraco was the famed city of Saguntus, or Saguntum, on the same coast, of which we have spoken amply in a former volume. Valentia, another ancient city near Saguntum, was the capital of the Edetani. It is situate on the mouth of the river Thurias, about three miles from the sea, and was anciently styled Colonia Julia, founded by Junius Brutus, whilst he was consul in Spain^e, and given to his army. It was afterwards destroyed, with Herennius

* Plin. lib. iii. cap. 3.

* Liv. Epitom. xlviii. Aurel. Vict.

in Scip. Æmil. Appian. in Iberic. &c.

c Plin. Nat. Hist.

lib. iii.

d See Gerund. lib. v. & Taraph. ex Herod. & al.

e Liv. Epitom. Iv.

and his accomplices, by Pompey, and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. It has retained its ancient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is still of the province of that name, an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most considerable cities of Spain. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honesty by Tully, as they now are censured by their own authors, for their superstition and bigotry †. Before we leave this part of Spain, we must not omit the famous city of Complutum, now Alcala de Henarez, so called from the river Henarez, on whose banks it was situate, in a pleasant plain; and, as that river falls into the Tagus, the circum-jacent cities are easily furnished with all kinds of provisions and merchandizes. Complutum has now no bishoprick, but only a collegiate church, and is a considerable university, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, under whose auspices, care, and immense charges, the first polyglot Bible was compiled, and printed in this city, and is from thence called the Complutensian polyglot.

Westward of Complutum and the ancient city of Tole-tum, now Toledo, and on the river Tagus, was situate the Mantua of Ptolemy; near which spot the town of Madrid, the now metropolis of all Spain, is supposed to have been since built (S): but of this, and many others, both on the sea-coasts and on the continent, we shall forbear saying any thing farther, they being well known to almost every reader. We have already had occasion to mention some of the most considerable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the course of this article: the rest, that are of any consequence, together with such natural rarities as may be worth observing, the reader will find in the following note (T).

The

† De his vide Marin. Sicul. de Reb. Hisp. in fin. lib. iii.

(S) Hence we find it called by some Mantua Carpetana, by others Madritum and Madritt; but commonly now Madrid (1).

(T) Besides the cities above mentioned, we should take notice of a very famed one, namely, Carthage; but we have had occasion to speak of it in a former volume. Segobriga, alias Segobrica, was the capital of

the Celtiberi, concerning the situation of which authors differ so much, that we can hardly say any thing positive about it. It was, however, entirely destroyed by the two Scipios; but since we find it mentioned by many ancient authors, and by the Itinerary, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by some of their successors. We have al-

(2) Vide Sicul. Marin. de Reb. Hisp. lib. ii.

A a 4

read for

Islands.
Gades.

The chief islands belonging to the Tarraconian province are, first, that of Gades, situated on the gulph of that name, between the streights of Gibraltar and the river Bætis; and celebrated, not so much for its magnitude, as for the concourse of foreign nations from the earliest times, and for its city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already spoken in this chapter, and in a former volume. Strabo gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much smaller breadth, yet it had, according to him, no less than five hundred horsemen in his time^c. As for the city, we have, in the preceding part of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the Carthaginians, and taken by the Romans. It was since erected into a bishoprick, under the title of Episcopatus Gaditanus^b. The next is the so much celebrated, and so difficult to find, island of Erythia, where Geryon is said to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules stole from him^d. Some have placed it near that of Gades; others think it was the same; and others have thought that it was either sunk into the sea, or was to be sought for among the rocks.

Baleares.

The Baleares and Gynesiæ were distinguished into Major and Minor, or, as Mela expresses it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their extent, situation, and other particulars, are so well known to every reader, that it were superfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need say of them here is, in what state they were in those ancient times. In the former, now Majorca, Ptolemy and Strabo place the two cities of Palma and Pollentia, the one on the east, and the other on the

^c Strab. lib. iii.
Theogon. ver. 289, & seq.

^b Vaf. Chronic. cap. 21.

^d Hesiod,

ready given a full account of the Numantine war, and the sad catastrophe of that city.

The remarkable mountains, besides those already mentioned, are the Pyrenees, which divide Spain from Gaul by a continued ridge of vast height and depth, reaching from sea to sea. They are supposed to have been so called, from a fire which spread itself over the surface of them, and burnt with such fierceness during several days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels. The Idu-

bedan hills were another ridge, which crossed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of several large rivers, such as the Tagus and Anas, which flowed westward toward the ocean, on one side; and of the Suero and Thurias, which ran eastward into the Mediterranean on the other. The Orospeidan ridge seems to have separated this province in part from Bætica. They were also called *Mariani Montes*, and now *Serra Moena*.

west;

west; and these are by Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, styled Colonizæ. In the latter, now Minorca, they place likewise two cities, Jamno and Mago, which were, however, no more than castles or forts, if Mela's judgment, who was a native of that country, is to be preferred to the others; but as they seem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this island, they doubtless soon grew into considerable sea-ports, especially that of Mago, which became since a celebrated one, under the name of Maon. These two islands were, on account of their situation and harbours, styled Fortunatæ, and stand about thirty miles distance from each other. They were at first possessed by the Phœnicians, who held them till Q. Metellus brought them under the Roman yoke, for which he got the surname of Balearicus^k.

Farther, towards the Streights, opposite Cape Dianium, now Denia, are the two islands called Pityusæ by the ancients, from the vast quantity of pine-trees which they produced^l; one of which, by far the larger of the two, though smaller than that of Minorca, was named Ebusus, now Ivica; the other Ophiusa, now Formentera. They are both mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; and Mela adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poisonous, nor even wild creatures; and that if any were brought thither, they could not live in it^m. The island abounded with pasture-groundⁿ, and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed; some have even added sugar-canes^o, which it is said they boiled into sugar, and made a traffick of; but this opinion Cellarius has shewn to be a mistake, and that it means no other than the dried figs above mentioned. The other, by far the smallest, is thought by some to have been the same with that which the Latins call Colubraria; but the author last quoted hath plainly proved, from the testimonies of Pliny and Mela, that they were two different islands, and that the latter was at a much greater distance from that of Ebusus than the former; and both of them are small and inconsiderable. Ebusus was the name both of the island and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called Ebusum; for we find, in ancient inscriptions of Gruter, Ordo Ebusii, and Rp. or Respublica Ebusii; and are farther told, that it was a colony of the Phœnicians^p. The last island worth mentioning was called Capra-

*Pityusæ
islands.*

*Their pro-
duct.*

Colubraria.

Ebusus.

Capraria.

^k Flor. lib. iij. cap. 8.
Sit. in fin. lib. ii.
Nonn. cap. 94. in Stat. Sylv. lib. i.
ver. 362.

^l Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^m Mel. de

ⁿ Fest. Avien. Descript. ~~Orb.~~ vet. 622.

^o Sil. Ital. lib. iii.

*The seven
Carthagi-
nian con-
ventus.*

ria, and now Cabrera, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the Colubraria seems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It stands on the south of Majorca, and is remarked for being fatal to mariners. All these islands, and a great number of others mentioned by ancient writers, supposed to have been swallowed by the sea, belonged to the province of Tarracon, and underwent the same fate of passing from the Carthaginian to the Roman yoke. We shall conclude this section with observing from Pliny¹, that this province was divided into seven conventus, or provincial assemblies, whose names the reader will find in the note (W). It had seventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve Roman, and eighteen Latian cities, and a hundred and thirty-five stipendiaria or garrisons, in the Roman pay, and one confederate.

S E C T. II.

The Religion, Laws, Government, Customs, Learning, &c. of the Ancient Spaniards.

*The reli-
gion of the
ancient
Spaniards.*

THERE is no doubt that wherever Spain was inhabited by the descendents of the Celtes, thither they brought their old religion and government. What these were we have already explained, and shall speak more largely upon in the next chapter of the ancient Gauls, the undoubted and immediate descendents of the ancient Celtic stock; for we find a great affinity between them in all these particulars, as they sprang from the same origin; but as the Gauls are better known to us than the Spaniards, we shall refer the greatest part of what we have to say on these different heads to their history; for could we even admit what the generality of Spanish writers affirm, after Berofus, that Tubal, the fifth son of Japhet, came and peopled Spain so early as a hundred and forty-three years after the flood, Gomer, his eldest brother, and the father of the Celtes, must have been as soon in possession of Gaul; and both must of course be supposed to have brought the same religion, laws, and government, namely, that which they received from their grandfather Noah; which they strictly adhered to for a long series of years, and was in all these countries the same as that of the old patriarchs. They wor-

¹ Plin. lib. iii. cap. 3. & al. supra citat.

(W) These were the Carthaginiensis, Tarraconensis, Caesar Augustanus, Cluniensis, Astur-
ensis, Lucensis, and Braccarus.
shipped

shipped one Supreme Being, not in temples, but in consecrated groves. They believed a future state of rewards and punishments. They offered victims to, and celebrated festivals in honour of him; and in most things observed a great simplicity in all their religious rites during a series of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into several of their superstitions, especially into their various ways of divination. One bloody and inhuman custom they adopted indeed very early, in common with most ancient nations, that of human sacrifices.

Simplicity of their worship.

Superstitious customs.

Various religions introduced.

and superstitions.

But as this country was afterwards invaded by a variety of other nations, the Egyptians, Tyrians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and a multitude of others who settled amongst them, it is natural to think, that every people brought their own religion and customs with them; and what these were may be seen in the history we have given of each of those nations in the course of this work. It is plain such a mixture of different nations must have brought not only a vast variety of religious laws and customs, but produced some alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed some doctrines and notions, rites and fashions, from one another, as suited their taste and circumstances. However, after the invasion of the imperious Romans, whose constant policy it was to introduce every where their gods, religion, and laws, we need not doubt but those that fell under their dominion were obliged to submit to this change.

under the Romans.

The inundation likewise of the northern nations, such as the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, must likewise have introduced such changes as may be better imagined than expressed. We shall have occasion to speak of them in their several histories; only thus much may be observed here, that though they had embraced Christianity, yet they were all of them infected with the Arian heresy. This did not, however, relax their zeal against the heathenish idolatry and superstition, which had been introduced by the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Romans, and other nations, whose temples, altars, and statues they destroyed wherever they came, obliging all who fell under their dominion to embrace their religion; but both Sueves and Goths at length exchanged their Arianism for the orthodox faith, the former under the reign of their king Ariamirus, or Theodemirus, and the latter under Reccaredus, who made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famous council of Toledo, where some farther regulations were

under the Goths, &c.

Heathenish idolatry abolished.

Arians converted.

Their confession of faith.

made for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worship. This great change was so much the more remarkable, considering the tenaciousness of those nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without persecution, or any other violent means. Upon the whole it must be owned, that the Goths made many excellent laws and regulations for the better government in church and state. We shall speak of them in a subsequent chapter; and shall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by several names, such as officium Gothicum, Toletanum, and Mozarabicum (A), supposed by most authors to have been compiled by Isidore, then bishop of Hispal or Seville. This liturgy was confirmed by the Toletan council, though the pope did not suffer them to enjoy it long, before he obliged them to exchange it for the Roman, not without a long and strenuous opposition from the Goths, especially those of Catalonia, who sent a number of deputies to the council of Mantua, to expostulate against such a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars are recorded with relation to this successless deputation, which, as they display the unfair intrigues and arbitrary sway of the Romish court, as well as the superstitious practices of those times, we shall give our readers in the note (B).

Liturgy.

*Suppressed
by the pope.*

It

(A) So called from the name of Mozarabes, which they then gave to those Christians, who were under the subjection of the Saracens.

(B) The merit of these two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by single combat; in which one champion was to fight for the Gothic, and the other for the Roman. They did so; and the latter lost the battle; but the Roman party refusing to abide by the event, it was again agreed to have it tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the Gothic was preserved, and the other burnt: but such was the prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his legate, that the synod of Leon decided again in favour of the latter. The Gothic, how-

ever, was far from being wholly set aside. It was retained by several congregations, and by seven churches of Toledo, during a considerable number of years. Neither did it lose its credit by being disused, since even the famed cardinal Ximenes erected a chapel in that city; in which the divine worship was to be performed according to the Gothic or Mozarabic liturgy; but in the end, means were found to get it condemned, and wholly set aside, and with it the old character, in which it was written.

This character was not, however, the old Runic, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the German history, as hath been affirmed by several authors; but the old Gothic, in which most, if not all, books were

It is probable, that though the first inhabitants of Spain were under one monarchical government, upon their first settling in it, as well as those of Gaul, Germany, and other European nations, yet as they came to increase in number, and enlarge their territories, they split themselves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and commonwealths. There was not only a great variety, but likewise a constant fluctuation of them as they passed from one dominion to another, especially when they came under that of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals.

Government, laws, &c.

After the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Scipios, Spain was governed by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, pro prætors, and præsides, from that time to the reign of Tiberius, if not later; for we find L. Piso prætor of the Hither Spain in his time, and a rescript of Adrian directed to the consul of Bætica. The præsides are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and given to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from Augustus, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to Honorius, in whose reign the Romans were expelled by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. Under these emperors Spain was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced to one, though under several governors, or legati and tribuni*. About the reign of Dioclesian and Maximinian it began to be governed by comites or counts; and if any of these were compelled to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called vicarii. At length, in the time of the Goths, those provinces that were subject to the Romans, were governed by duces and præfecti. Under the Goths they had nineteen kings, during the space of two hundred years, that is, from Athanaric, who began his reign in the year of Christ 369, to Leovigild, anno 569. The Suevi reigned in Galicia, according to Isidorus, a hundred and seventy-seven years, that is, from Hermeric, A. D. 408, to Andeca, defeated and dethroned by Leovigild, who brought that kingdom under his subjection, A. D. 581. In this list of Suevian kings, there is a chasm of their names

Under the Romans.

Under the Roman emperors.

Under the Goths, and Suevi.

Succession of their kings.

* Tacit. Ann. Vide & Vaf. Chron. cap. 13.

were written at that time in Spain, and elsewhere; and was near the same with the old Roman, but of a coarser mould; and was particularly used in all the Visigothic dominions (1).

(1) De hoc vide Vaf. Chron. sub ann 717. Comec, de Gest. R. Ximenii. lib. ii.

for a hundred years, from Remismund, who infected that kingdom with Arianism, A. D. 464, to Theodemirus, who embraced the orthodox faith, the historians not having judged them worthy of being recorded : the others are ten in number, including Reccaredus just mentioned. Lastly, the united kingdoms of Goths and Suevi, which commenced with Reccaredus, the successor of Leovigild, and first orthodox king of the Goths, A. D. 568, continued a hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, to A. D. 713, when the Moors subverted the kingdom in the third year of Roderic, their seventeenth and last king.

Laws.

What laws the ancient Spaniards originally had, or what new laws were imposed upon them by their conquerors, we are ignorant of. We are indeed told that Hercules, upon his coming thither, gave them a body of laws, such as he had brought from his own country, whether Egypt, Tyre, or Greece ; but what they were we are totally unacquainted with.

Valour and discipline.

In the art of war, and military discipline, we shall have occasion to point out, that the Gauls, Germans, and other nations of Celtic extract, were very deficient, trusting too much to their strength and bravery, contemning all other arts, and even defensive weapons as unbecoming men of real courage ; but in this respect the Spaniards, though no less courageous and athletic, had much the advantage of them ; and this was chiefly owing to their being so early and so frequently at war with other belligerent nations, from whom they received great improvements. Diodorus Siculus tells us ¹, that the Celtiberians had such an excellent way of tempering the steel with which they made their weapons, that no shield or helmet could resist them ; and that they used them with equal dexterity, whether cavalry or infantry. He likewise commends them much for their extraordinary agility ; and adds, that they used defensive weapons, such as the shield and helmet. This is the reason the Romans were so long in subduing them. At the introduction of the Romans, the Spaniards had sustained such long and dreadful wars against the Carthaginians, that one might have expected they would have been quite exhausted ; and yet it is evident they held out against them near two hundred years before they were totally subdued.

Excellent weapons.**Learning, arts, and sciences.**

That the Spaniards were not deficient in point of genius, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we shall mention only three of the most illustrious, — namely, the famed Stoic Seneca, who was a na-

¹ Lib. ii. cap. 1.

tive of Corduba; the learned orator Quintilian; and the great cosmographer Pomponius Mela, often quoted through this work: and though we find other European nations very slow and tardy in cultivating the arts, such as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unworthy of their martial genius; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations in this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and it seems indeed almost incredible that they could have subsisted without them, considering the continued invasions they were exposed to, and the many enemies they were forced to oppose. Even learning, and the liberal arts, if we may believe Strabo, began early to flourish here*; for he tells us, that the Turdetani, a people of Bætica, were become very celebrated for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of great antiquity, and codes of laws written in verse, and other pieces of poetry of above six thousand years standing; which last, however exaggerated, at least evinces, that there was some foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of learning: and this truth is farther confirmed by several other ancient authors†, particularly by what Pliny tells us‡ of one Lartius Licinius, a private person, who made no difficulty to give no less a sum than forty thousand nummi for a book of Pliny II.'s Commentaries.

Their early progress in Spain.

We make no scruple to affirm, that the original language of Spain was the old Celtic, of which we have already given some account, and shall have occasion to speak farther of in the next chapter; for, whether we suppose, with the generality of Spanish authors, that Tubal went thither by sea, and peopled that country, or, as we have elsewhere hinted, that the Celtes, or descendants of Gomer his eldest brother, spread themselves by gradual migrations, the case will be much the same in this respect; because, on the supposition of the former hypothesis, Tubal and Gomer parting so soon after the flood, their language must have been similar; that is, the Tubalians, or, as they are called by others, Cetubales, and the Gomerians, must have carried the same language into those countries where they settled, be it called by either name; with this difference only, that it must have been much purer, and more

Their language, the old Celtic.

* Strab. lib. iii.
Lucan. & al. plur.

† Pomp. Mela, Sil. Ital. Columen. Martial.
‡ Plin. Epist. lib. iii.

Its conformity with other languages.

Analogy between the Celtes and Spaniards.

The Latin introduced by the Romans.

analogous to that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether Hebrew or not: but as that Berosian account is now, by most learned men (except the Spaniards, who are fond of their own antiquity beyond other nations), rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here, and elsewhere, to ascribe the first peopling of Spain to the Celtes, or descendents of Gomer (G); for if we allow the Celtes to have been either the first, or even some of the most early inhabitants of Spain, it will not appear so wonderful there should still be found, in the modern language of that country, such primitive words, notwithstanding the length of time, and various changes, it may have undergone, since it is no more than what may be observed, not only in the High and Low Dutch, and other northern languages, but even in the French, the farthest removed, and most altered, from the old Gaulish or Celtic. We may add, that the modern Spanish preserves more of the masculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old Celtic, than any other in Europe. The same may be said of the Spanish nation, with respect to the ancient Celtic grandeur and dignity; and we may add, of their pride, and singular contempt not only for trade, commerce, manufactures, and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as beneath their rank and martial genius; and therefore transferred them in a great degree to their slaves, as we shall find when we come to mention the Gauls, in the succeeding chapter.

But whatever the original language of Spain may have primarily been, it must have undergone great changes by the different nations, who subdued this country: but the greatest of all was under the Romans; for these made it their constant business to introduce their tongue into every country that fell under their yoke, at first, by founding schools, and even universities, where youth might, with the Latin tongue and character, be taught the arts and sciences, which was no small inducement to inspire them with a fondness for it; and where that failed, more forcible means were used: so that, in time, almost the whole kingdom came to speak it as their native language, except those few tribes of the ancient inhabitants, who, perhaps, like our Welsh, fled into their mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained their original tongue.

(G) What confirms this hypothesis still more, is, that their ancient language, it is still preserved in some parts of Spain, and appears to be much the same with that which is spoken by our Welsh, who are descended from Gomer, and retain still their paternal name of Gomerai, and call their own language Gomraeg.

The Latin continued no longer there, than in the corruption of the Goths and Vandals, under whom it began to degenerate from its purity, as it did in Gaul, Italy, and other parts, where those barbarous nations prevailed;

Corrupted by the Goths and Vandals.

From what we have lately quoted out of Strabo, it is evident that the ancient Spaniards must have admitted writing amongst them many ages before either the Gauls, Germans, or any others of Celtic extraction, since these made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their history, learning, or religion, but were contented with preserving them in poems which their druids and bards learned by heart, and transmitted in the same manner to their disciples: but it is more than probable, that the former were, in some measure, forced to it by some of those many nations under whose dominion they gradually passed, such as the Phenicians, Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans. But which of those different characters was first adopted, or became most in vogue, we cannot pretend to determine, but may aver that, from the settlement of the Romans, their letters, as well as language, extirpated all the rest, and were in use till their expulsion, when the old Gothic took place.

Their writing.

It will not be amiss here to take notice of a singular method which the ancient Spaniards had of computing time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its rise in the reign of Cæsar Augustus, prevailed all over Spain, and was not abolished till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, first in Arragon, by Peter IV. A. D. 1358, in Castile, by king John, anno 1383, and in Portugal, by John I. anno 1415. This method was, to reckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, instead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Christ, or any other remarkable epocha; and this was used, not only in their profane, but what is still more surprising, in their ecclesiastical records. So that it puzzled the learned to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a proper criterion for that word thus used. It may suffice to say here, that they are all agreed on one point, namely, that the æra commenced in Augustus's time; some add, that it was instituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Christ. Some reckon it but barely twenty six years, and think those highly mistaken who allot it any more. Others think it began in the year in which that

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

Verum: Paradoxum: Impossibile: et in.

*Why called
æra.*

prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangelist expounds it; and that it was called æra from the *æs*, or copper coin, which was exacted by that decree. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Christ, which was, according to them, the year in which Julius Cæsar was killed, and Augustus succeeded him^a. The most reasonable of them are those who deduct the first four years out of that emperor's reign, because, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the Spaniards should have begun so soon to compliment him with this new computation; and consequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirate, when that country, together with Gaul, and some other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was, according to Usher, forty years before the birth of Christ. As for the origin of the word, those that do not approve of the derivation we have mentioned, which is that of Isidore bishop of Seville^b, will be less pleased with some others, still far remote of the Spanish critics. Vaseus thinks that æra was a mark stamped on the coin, to shew the value of it; and Resendius affirms that æra was nothing else but a term to signify a computation, or computed number: these opinions would appear most probable to us, if they were supported with any good authority.

*Excellent
way of
educating
their youth.*

*Great love
of liberty.*

The education of their children, in ancient times, consisted principally in training them to martial deeds, using them to such food and exercises as tended to make them strong and athletic, active and nimble; in inspiring them with a love of liberty, and a contempt of death. These principles were so strongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and so carefully enforced both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well by the hopes of future glory to the bold and brave, and of misery and ignominy to the base and cowardly, that the whole nation seemed unanimously to prefer death to slavery; and looked upon it as the greatest of all blessings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in this martial way, contracted such a habit of bravery, that they seldom or never failed of shewing some signal examples of it, as often as an opportunity presented itself.

*Bravery of
their wo-
men.*

We have already observed, that this country was not only excellently situated for trade and commerce, but abounded with such commodities, especially silver, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, to go thither,

^a *Isidore, Chron. cap. 22.*
^b *apud eund. ibid.*

^a Isidor. Epist. ad Vaf.

to settle among them, and even to subdue them; insomuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed under so many different masters. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others, have had their particular settlements in it; and the greatest part of them, if not all, have held it, or at least some considerable share of it under subjection, promoted its trade and navigation, and founded in it great and opulent cities.

To close the character of the ancient Spaniards: they possessed all the virtues of the old Celtic nation, and inherited fewer of their vices than any others of their descendents; they were brave, noble, magnanimous, and hospitable to a high degree; and so famed for their fidelity, that, even after their being conquered by the Romans, several of those emperors preferred them to other nations, to be their body guard. They were sober, frugal, patient under hardships, jealous of their honour, and till a few centuries past, rather desirous to preserve their own territories, than to go in search of new settlements abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of Celtic extraction, those of pride, cruelty, superstition, and laziness, are justly laid to their charge; but it doth not appear, that they imitated the Gauls and Germans in their sumptuous banquets, much less in their excessive fondness of Bacchanalian excesses; on the contrary, they are famed for their sobriety, by which they preserved themselves from such bloody quarrels as were the natural consequence of those revels which we find so prevalent among their neighbours, and were usually attended with the worst effects.

General character of the ancient Spaniards.

S E C T. III.

The Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the Ancient Spaniards.

WE have, in several parts of this work, proceeded on the most probable hypothesis, founded on the testimony of the best and most ancient authors, that the Celtes, the descendents of Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, were the first who peopled Europe, at least as far as the Danube and Rhine, and even beyond these rivers. Whether by gradual migrations from the place of their dispersion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by sea, we think be with more propriety enquired into in the next chapter, where we shall speak of the Gauls, the immediate descen-

Spain, its first inhabitants.

dents of those Celtes: but it will be impossible to conjecture at what time either this, or any other country of Europe, was peopled by them, or which of them bath the preference in point of antiquity.

The Spaniards have derived their origin from Tubal, the fifth son of Japhet^b, who is said to have arrived, and reigned in Spain from the year of the flood 143 to 258, and from whom they pretend to give a tedious and regular series of monarchs, down to three Geryons, who were killed by the Egyptian Hercules, to say nothing of a much longer æra, which they likewise draw from this last hero; and some other invaders from Libya, down to the time in which they allow the Celtes to have made their first entrance into Spain, in the year of the flood 1350. So that, according to these authors, Spain had been a monarchy, and had lasted one thousand two hundred and twenty-six years before the arrival of the Celtes. This account, however fabulous, not only with regard to Tubal's reign, and his pretended successors, but likewise, in some measure, with respect to those of Hercules, as it is not only adopted by Spanish authors in general, but likewise by all the followers of Berofus, we shall be obliged, before we proceed, to give our readers a compendious sketch of it, especially as we have hitherto, in the course of this work, given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the history of each nation.

*Berosian
list of their
kings.*

*Tubal, or
Thubal.*

1. Tubal, having received his grandfather's blessing, came, according to these historians, and settled in some part of Spain, in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned there to the year 258; during which interval Noah, called by profane authors Janus, came thither, and built two cities, one of which he called, from his own name, Noëla, in Galicia, and the other Noëga, in Asturia, and which still retains that of Navia.

Iberus.

2. Iberus, the son of Tubal, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258, reigned thirty-seven years, that is, to the year 295. From him these authors pretend, that the river Iberus, from which Spain was called Iberia, had its name.

Idubeda.

3. Idubeda, by some called Juballa, and Jubalda, who reigned sixty-four years, gave name to the famous Idubedean mountains, peopled the province of Briga, now Riola, and it was called by that name from,

Brigo.

4. Brigo, his son and successor, who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his son,

^a Genes. x. ^b *supra*. ^c Vide inter al. Garibay. Compend. Hist. Hispan. lib. ix. cap. 4. & seq. Vas. Chron. Hispan. cap. 10. sub. an. Diluv. 1350. Garund. Paralip. Hist. Sant. Mariana. et al. mult.

5. Tagus, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river Tagus, and was succeeded by his son,

6. Boetus, from whom the river Boëtis, and the province of Boëtia or Boëtica, formerly Turdetania, and since Andalusia, had their names. He is said to have been surnamed Terdetanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging learning. *Boetus, the last of Tubal's line.*

7. Geryon, an African or Libyan, of a gigantic stature, and a barbarous tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514, and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others ⁴. He was opposed by Osiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionysius, king of Egypt, with a powerful army, who defeated and killed the tyrant, and divided his kingdom amongst his three sons, commonly called the three Geryons, after having first exacted a strict promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from those plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father. *Geryon.*

8. Three Geryons, said to have been all of one birth, and the last of the Geryonic race, reigned with such surprising concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a threefold body. These being supposed to have had a share in the death of Osiris, to revenge that of their father, Hercules his son brought a great army from Egypt, overcame and slew them successively in single combat. It is said, that the columns between the Carpean and Abylean mountains were set up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors, near forty years, when they met with this defeat, and were buried in the isle of Gades ⁵. Hercules, who was not so emulous to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner vanquished the three Geryons, than he prepared to pass into Italy, and left the government of Spain to his son, *Geryons.*

9. Hispal, who built the city of that name, now called *Hispal*. Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by Cæsar: and from Hispal began a new succession of Spanish kings. He is said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his son,

10. Hispan, or Hispanus, from whom the country took *Hispan*. its name, which it hath ever since retained. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607, reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince. The city of Gades was his chief residence ⁶.

⁴ Conf. Garibay, Compend. Hist. Chron. Hisp. lib. 1. cap. 12. ad fin. *Idem*
⁵ Garibay, ubi supra, lib. 1. cap. 12. ad fin. *Idem*
⁶ Ibid. in fin. cap. 14.

Hercules.

Hercules, hearing of his grandson Hispan's death, returned into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639 to 658. Being much advanced in years, he bequeathed the Spanish kingdom to Hesperus, one of his captains and companions, died, and was buried at Gades, or Cadiz, where that stately monument was erected to him which was long held in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was resorted to by most nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Hesperus.

11. Hesperus, from whom both Spain and Italy were called Hesperia, but the former, by way of distinction, Hesperia Magna, and his brother Atlas, surnamed Italus, had accompanied Hercules in all his expeditions and conquests. Upon the death of that hero, Hesperus proclaimed himself his successor. Atlas, who is supposed to have been left in Italy, upon the return of the other two into Spain, went thither also, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669, after he had reigned eleven years.

Atlas.

12. Atlas, after he had reigned ten years in Spain, is said to have returned into Italy, in order to dethrone his brother; for, it seems, that fugitive prince fled thither, and was so well received, as to give him fresh cause of jealousy. Upon his departure, he left the kingdom to his son,

Orus.

13. Orus, or Sicorus, who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river Sicoris, now Segre, which falls into the Iberus, or Ebro; and was succeeded by his son,

Sicanus.

14. Sicanus, who had followed him from Italy into Spain; a prince said to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river Anas, now Ana, and reigned thirty-two years; during which period he is said to have carried his successful arms into Italy and Sicily, which from him was called Sicania, as it had been before Trinacria, and since Sicily, from his successor,

Sicleus.

15. Sicleus succeeded his father, and reigned forty-four years; during which time he is said to have passed over into Italy, and performed great feats, assisted Iafus, the grandson of Atlas, by Electra his daughter, who was then engaged in a war with Dardanus, about the succession to certain states in that country. In this prince's reign the Deucalion flood is said to have happened; and Moses was then performing his wonders before the hardened king of Egypt.

Iafus.

16. Sicleus was succeeded by his son Iafus, who had accompanied him in his wars in Italy. He is said to have been a brave prince, but much addicted to the heathenish superstitions, which then prevailed. Some ascribe to him the peopling of Lusitania, now Portugal; others to Iafus, a chief-

a chieftain and companion of Baccus. Lusus reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by,

17. Ulus, or Sic-Ulus, whom some suppose to be the son of Lusus, others of Atlas. He maintained such numerous armies and fleets, that he was called the son of Neptune: he passed over into Italy, to assist those Spanish colonies which had been settled there by Atlas, repressed their enemies, peopled some countries in the neighbourhood of Rome, built some cities, and particularly the famous castle of Alfino: thence he passed into Sicily, to assist those Spanish colonies which his predecessors had fixed there, and who, it seems, were harassed by the other inhabitants of that island; which, from his great exploits, he called by his own name. He reigned about sixty years, and was succeeded by,

18. Testa, an African or Libyan, to whom, however, the Spanish historians give the character of a good and wise prince. Some of them affirm, that in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, a colony of Greeks, from the island of Zancynthus, came into Spain, by sea, and with his permission settled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by those of Saguntini and Saguntines, mentioned in a preceding volume. Testa, after a reign of seventy-four years, was succeeded by his son,

19. Romus, who reigned thirty-three years, and is supposed to have founded the city of Rome in the province of Tarragona, since called Valentia, from the Romans denominating that city afterwards by his name, and enlarging and beautifying it, and rendering it the metropolis. Romus was succeeded by,

20. Palatius, the supposed founder of the city of Palentia, or Palantia. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquility, when a famous warrior, named Licinius Cacus, waged war against him, deprived him of his whole kingdom, and compelled him to wander about, whilst he, the usurper, reigned uncontrolled, and encouraged all kinds of arts, which till then had been much neglected in that country. At length Palatius found means to recover his kingdom, after his adversary had possessed it thirty-six years, and gave him a total defeat near Mount Cacus, now Monticajo, so called from him after this overthrow. Some pretend that Cacus was slain upon the spot; others, that he retired into Italy. Be this as it may, Palatius reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by,

21. Erythreus, in whose reign is placed the founding of Carthage, which we shall not dwell upon here, having given an account of it in a former volume. He is said to

have given name to the celebrated island of Erythra, or Erythra, as it is called by Mele and Pliny, an island which has been sought for, in vain. Erythra was the last of the line of Iestas, in which the monarchy had subsisted two hundred and forty-five years, according to some, or a hundred and twenty-three, according to others, including the thirty-six years of Lacinus's usurpation. He was succeeded by,

Gargoras.

22. Gargoras, surnamed Mellicole, because he discovered the use of honey, and the art of cultivating of bees. He was by birth a Spaniard, a wise prince, and great promoter of industry. In his reign the famous city of Troy having been destroyed by the Greeks, many of those warriors, who were prevented by contrary winds from returning to their own country, came and settled in Spain, and built cities in several parts. To Gargoras succeeded, if we may believe Justin,

Habis, his excellent reign.

23. Habis, his grandson by a daughter, and a bastard, was an extraordinary prince, whether we consider the many and surprising dangers from which he was delivered, as it were, by miracle, or the beauty and stature of his person, or the many and signal benefits which the Spanish nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, for his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather. The Spaniards at that time were still so very little civilized, that they knew nothing of the use of bread, or agriculture. It was he that first taught them to plow their land with oxen, to sow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewise enacted many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them seven courts of judicature in seven cities of his kingdom. After his death, his posterity succeeded to his kingdom for several centuries. How long the king reigned who succeeded him, what other kings governed in other parts of Spain, and in short, every other particular relative to the ancient history of it, we are totally unacquainted with till the time of the Carthaginians. This chasm is filled up, by some of their authors, with such fables as we meet with in England from our own monkish books.

Vr. of Pl.
499.
Ante Chr.
1649.

The Geds, or Geds, are said to have come first into Spain about the 499th year of the flood, and they were soon followed by the Rhodians. Of the first it is affirmed, that they fought for some time with the Spaniards, or the

Mele. de G. de Pl. cap. 1. The. lib. iv. cap. 22.
C. de Ant. de Pl. cap. 1. Ant. de Pl. cap. 1. Ant. de Pl. cap. 1.

rians,

rians, as they were then called, about their settlements; but agreed at length upon a peace and mutual friendship; so that by intermarrying and living together, they soon became as one people, under the name of Celtiberians¹. The Rhodians, who came by sea, landed at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, and there built a city, to which they gave their name. It was a bishop's see till the time of the Goths, but is now reduced to ruins. About ten years after happened the great fire, which spread all over that vast ridge of mountains called the Pyrenæes, and from thence Incendium Pyrenæum; or as others say more properly, that these mountains were thence called Pyrenean. This fire, we are told, was at first kindled by some shepherds, and burnt with such fury for many days, that it spread itself almost over the whole ridge. With regard to what they add, that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and made it boil and emerge in rivulets along those hills, it is looked upon as fabulous by Possidonius, Strabo², and others (1).

The Gauls and Rhodians settle in Spain.

Yr. of Fl.
729.
Ante Chr.
1619.

Besides the Tyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, already mentioned, who obtained dominion in this country, Eusebius mentions³ several other nations that made settlements there before the arrival of the Carthaginians, such as the Egyptians a second time, who held the dominion of the sea thirty-five years, and built some cities, especially Tarracona, which they so called from Tarraco their leader. The Milesians are likewise mentioned, by the same author, to have possessed some districts there for the space of twenty-

Other nations that governed in Spain.

¹ Diod. Sic. Bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron. & al. Vide & Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. in Strab. lib. iii. ² Euseb. Chron. Vide & Trog. sub ann. Ante Chr. 540.

(1) It must be owned, however, that Spain yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, since Aristotle assures us, that the Phœnicians, who are supposed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of it, that their ships could neither contain nor sustain its load, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors, and other imple-

ments of silver; and yet this is trifling compared (1) to what we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, of the amazing product of these mines. With respect to the Phœnicians, they are supposed likewise to have settled in Spain, and to have built several other cities, especially in Bætica, and to have had the dominion of the sea for the space of forty-one years; after which they settled in the Balearic islands.

(1) Aristotle & Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

*Nebuchad-
nezzar.*

*The coasts
chiefly in-
habited by
those
strange
nations.*

*Celtiberi-
ans in Lu-
sitania.*

*Argantho-
nius, his
longevity
and reign.*

nine years. Ptolemy affirms the Carthagini-ans in Spain are de-
scended from a colony of Carthians. The Lesbians succeeded
them, who built several cities, and governed, according to
the same Eusebius, fifty-eight years. Then the Phoenians,
in the sixteenth year of Tarquinius-Priscus, settled in Spain,
from whence they removed to the southern part of Gaul,
where they built the city of Massilia. Lastly, Nebuchad-
nezzar, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and conquest
of Judaea, is affirmed by Josephus and Strabo, to have
reigned nine years in Spain, at the end of which period it
is said, that he abandoned it to the Carthaginians; though
it is probable, as the Spanish writers affirm, that a great
part of the numerous host, which he had brought with
him, settled there, and built cities and castles, which they
called by their own, or some Chaldean names; by which
they may be still traced to their origin. Upon the whole
it seems probable, that most, if not all, of these nations, con-
tented themselves with maritime situations, for the advan-
tage of commerce and the command of the sea, and pene-
trated but a little way into the country; while the natives
might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad
to trade and barter with them, and be less sollicitous who
were masters of the sea-coast, so near adjacent, if they
could but obtain the benefits of the commerce, and the
produce of their own lands, in peace and tranquillity. As
for the Celtiberians already mentioned, they increased so fast in
this pleasant and healthy country, that they were forced
to have recourse to their ancient method of sending colo-
nies abroad. Some of them settled in Lusitania, where
they founded several cities, and called them by Celtic names;
and from these colonies the Lusitanians derived that of Cel-
tiberi: hence Diodorus Siculus says, that of all the Cel-
tiberians the Lusitanians were the most numerous. Another colony
of them went into Bætica, where they likewise left several
cities, and other monuments of their settlement. The
goodness of the climate, however, joined to their laborious
exercises, and plain way of living, which made them so
stout and long-lived, may be justly esteemed one of the
principal causes of their multiplying so fast, and being
obliged to send abroad such numerous colonies. Argan-
thonius, king of the Tartessii, is said to have reigned at
Gades, now Cadix, full fourscore years, and to have died
in the hundred and fortieth year of his age.

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 9. Geogr. lib. iv.

• Vide Liv.

Deed. in Garibai, lib. v. cap. 4. Val. sub. ann. U. C. 13. & 204.

• Valer. Max. lib. xiii. cap. 14. • Afriq. Pol. apud eund.

All that we know relating to the history of Spain from this period to the irruption of the Goths, and other northern nations, the era proposed for the commencement of the modern history, we have already specified in our accounts of the Romans and Carthaginians, who successively invaded and made conquests of this country, to which we must refer the reader. We shall only mention a few particulars of its ancient mines.

The Romans being masters of this rich and noble country, or at least of a considerable part of it, by the expulsion of the Carthaginians, one of their first cares was to seize on all its valuable mines, especially those of silver and gold, and to strip it of its immense wealth; and how considerable this was may be conjectured by the sketch we shall give in the next note (K), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors,

Strip of its mines and treasures.

* : Macceab. chap. viii. ver. 3. & seq. Liv. Orof. &c.

(K) Thus we are told (1), that Scipio, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable effects. L. Lentulus is said to have brought away forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he distributed among his soldiery. L. Mælius carried with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold. Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the Hither Spain two years, possessed himself of one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in coin; whilst his colleague brought from Farther Spain fifty thousand pounds of silver.

It is still more surprising that

these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five of gold, besides coin and other things of value, were brought away within the short space of nine years; for just this period elapsed between the first and the last of these Roman prætors (2); and immediately after they had been as severely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the Carthaginians. These few instances may suffice to shew, how rich this country must then have been, and what an immense treasure it yielded to their conquerors; for though these last never remitted their vigilance, but continued bringing fresh supplies from thence, yet we do not find that it was in any degree exhausted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richness of the country that invited the northern nations many

(1) Liv. Décad. 4. lib. i. ii. & iii. an. urb. 540. ad an. 558.

(2) Vide Val. Ciceron. ab

THE HISTORY OF THE GAULS. THAT
 pretors, even by the confession of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public as well as into their own treasury.

THE HISTORY OF THE GAULS.

C H A P. LXXXII.

The Ancient State of the Gauls, to their Conquest by Julius Caesar; and from thence to the Irruption of the Huns.

S E C T. I.

The Origin of the Gauls, and Extent of their Country.

THE Gauls were certainly descended from the Gesses or Gomerians, or, to speak more properly, were the first people under the great and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by some of their neighbours, whilst they still retained their primitive name of Gomeri, or descendants of Gomer. Other names they were distinguished by, such as they either assumed upon some particular occasion, or such as other nations thought fit to bestow upon them. I shall now give the reader may see a specimen in the following note (L). The name therefore of Gaul,

possesses a right to make inroads, and save the Romans out of it, we shall see in the next chapter.

It was, indeed, told by Strabo, that when the Carthaginians first went thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, and even managers, were made of it; so much that Belisarius said of this country, that Plutus, the god of riches, had his residence in the bowels of it. And Pliny mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the Romans, one of

which, called Bebel, from being the discoverer of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of silver per day (4). In a word, most ancient authors have celebrated this country for its richness to such a degree, that it hath only exposed it the more to the invasion of foreign adventurers.

(L) Of the first kind we may reasonably reckon all those which are of Celtic extraction; such as those of Celte and Gaul, which signify *brave* and *warlike*; Armonic, *maritime*. Even that of Belgæ, which signifies

Gaul, Galli, and Gallia, is not only foreign, but of a more recent date, as are likewise those other appellatives, by which Julius Cæsar¹, and other ancient authors, distinguish one part of their country from another. Such are those, for instance, of Cisalpina or Citerior, Transalpina or Ulterior, and Subalpina, which was situate at the foot of the Alps². The inhabitants, however, were formerly better known by the name of Celtes³, and the country, upon the whole, by that of Celto-Gallia⁴. Cæsar afterwards distinguished the whole country under the three following names, Belgia, Aquitania, and Gallia Propria, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the Celtes or Gauls. This last was again distinguished into Comata, whose inhabitants wore long hair; Brachata, from their wearing breeches; and Togata from the Roman toga being worn there.

We have already shewn, in the history of the ancient Celtes, that they were possessed of the greatest part of Europe. There is scarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left some evident monument of themselves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, and promontories. In every part of it, where either the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, sent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by ancient writers to have found the Celtes or Gauls already settled⁵: not that they particularize them by those two names; for we have just observed on what account they had several other appellatives given them, but yet such as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, and customs, to have signified one and the

The extent of Gaul.

¹ Cæs. Comment. lib. i. cap. 1. &c. ² Plut. in Cæs. & Marcell. Plin. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 11. Strab. Mela, Cluver. et al. ³ Pausan. in Attic. cap. 3. ⁴ Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 7. Diodor. lib. xxxix. et alibi. ⁵ Vide Diodor. Sic. lib. v. Lucan. lib. vi. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. Appian. Ptol. & al.

fiere and querulous, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original ferocity, from which the rest had polished themselves by their commerce and intercourse with other nations; those of Cis, Trans, and Subalpine, from their situation on either side of the Alps; that of Celto-Scythians, from their being neighbours to, and intermixed

with that nation; that of Celtiberians to those that were seated on the other side the Pyrenees.

As they spread themselves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue became divided into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became so numerous, and so different from the original, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their source.

same nation. However, we will not venture to say, that they were all of the same Celtic extraction who inhabited those parts of Europe, either towards the sea-side, such as Spain, Portugal, and the French coasts, along the Mediterranean, or towards the north-east, where they seem to have been so blended with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that it is nearly impossible to describe their boundaries on that side. All that we pretend to infer from those ancient authors, who have written most clearly and intelligently on this head, is, that the Celtes or Gauls plainly appear to have been the first who peopled and possessed themselves of, or claimed a dominion over, this country.

*Gauls in
Spain and
Portugal.*

The greatest difficulty is to prove the Gauls or Celtes to have been settled in Spain and Portugal before any other nation; first, because they were here called by the name of Iberians, or, at most, Celtiberians; from which appellation some are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the first inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the Celtes, who traversed the Pyrenees, and settled amongst them. And, secondly, because Varro^a mentions no less than five different nations, who were found there, when the Romans first invaded that country. These were, according to him, the Iberians, Persians, Phœnicians, Celtes, and Carthaginians. As to the first, we have already shewn, that the word *Iberian* signified, in the ancient Celtic, any people, country, or place, that was situate over, or on the other side of, a sea, river, or ridge of mountains; so that these might be naturally called Iberians, on account of their situation over the Pyrenees, by those who inhabited this side; and Celtiberians, to distinguish them from those nations they were there blended with and intermixed. As to what is objected to by Varro, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of ancient Spain, that neither the Tyrian or Phœnician colonies, nor those of the Carthaginians, went thither till a long time after the Celtes or Gauls had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. The greatest part of ancient authors expressly affirm^b, that these inhabitants were of the same extraction with those who filled the hither parts of Europe, to all whom they gave the same common name of Celtes and Gauls, and sometimes the more ancient one of Cymmerians and Cymbrians^c. And this assertion is confirmed by traces and monuments they have left in almost every canton and province of that

^a Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 2. Vide & Lucan. Appian. Diod. &c. ubi supra.

^b Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 33. Mo. iv. cap. 49. & alibi. Ephor. apud Strab. lib. iv. Vide et Pelloutier. Hist. Celt.

country; such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, and cities, all which are of Celtic extraction, as has been formerly observed.

Italy cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by them, if they were not the first settlers of it, for which opinion we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in former volumes. It was, indeed, too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been previously ever so well peopled; but, we think, we have made it appear at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the Umbri or Umbri really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been^a, the aborigines or ancient people of Italy, and they were descended from the Celtes, as their name and other concurring circumstances most plainly intimate, then it will scarcely be doubted, that they must have entered and peopled that country at a very early period.

In Italy.

Umbri, ancient inhabitant of it.

Germans, &c. of Celtic extraction.

We shall speedily have occasion to speak of the Germans, and other northern nations, as well as of the isles of Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, and others less considerable; all which plainly appear to have been first discovered and peopled by the Gauls or Celtes. As for the Germans, they so greatly resembled the Celtes in their language, religion, and customs, except, as Strabo observes^d, their retaining some of their original fierceness, which was doubtless owing to their vicinity and intermixture with the Scythians and Sarmatians, that they seem to have been one and the same nation. The Helvetii, Rhætii, Norici, and Pannonians, of whom we have given an account in a former volume, are sometimes called Celtes, and sometimes Gauls, indiscriminately; and their troops were still distinguished by the name of Celtic and Gaulish legions in Aurelian's time^e, as were also those that lived along the foot, or upon the summit of, the Alps.

How they came first into Europe.

In the mean time, it will not be improper to enquire how this ancient nation came at first to spread itself all over Europe; that is, whether they advanced by gradual steps from the place of their first dispersion, which we formerly fixed in Phrygia, or whether they came by sea, and then landing on some of the Italic or Mediterranean shores, dilated themselves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypothesis has its difficulties. If that of Berossus and his followers could be credited, that Gomer's sons settled themselves in several parts of Spain and Italy so early as a

Berosus's account confuted.

^a Flor. lib. i. cap. 17. Plin. Dion. Halicar. & al. ^d Lib. iv. & vii. ^e Zos. lib. ii. cap. 2. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 30, et seq. Pto-
lemy. lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 20. et alibi.

*The Gauls
bound-
aries
fractured.*

boundaries of the Gauls were not so gradual as the Romans supposed. They were so rapid to have been so short a time in the possession of the Gauls, that they failed to notice the difference. But that it will be equally difficult to find any other Gauls, who could in the short space of a hundred and twenty years, become so expert mariners as this supposed them to be. And if we allow them a longer period for making themselves masters of navigation, they may be supposed to have extended themselves thus far by such gradual migrations, as either want of room, fasting, or desire of change, may be supposed to have occasioned.

The Gauls were not only attended them, not only in Italy, but likewise in the north of the Alps, where the provinces of Noricum, Helvetia, Rhaetia, and that whole tract which lies between those mountains and the lake of Geneva, were taken from them, as we have seen in the Roman history, the whole Gaulish extent was then confined between that lake and the Pyrenees, having still the Mediterranean on the south, the Rhine on the north, and the British channel on the west.

S. E. C. T. II.

The Religion of the Gauls.

*Their religion
derived
from the
Celts.*

WE have already given an account of the religion of the ancient Celts, in a former volume; and as the Gauls were descended from them, as we have shewn under the last article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongst them in the same manner and form as they received it, till their intercourse with other nations, or perhaps rather their separation from them, gave birth to those changes and admixtures which it afterwards underwent. It is therefore a tolerable idea of the true Gaulish religion, we should trace it amongst those Gauls who were least conversant with other people, and had little occasion or necessity of receiving or adopting any thing from them, instead of having recourse to that of the Greeks and Romans, from whom whatever they might, in process of time, borrow, and which occasioned a kind of resemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almost all other respects, as possible. Much worse have they succeeded in this point, who have transformed the Gaulish deities into Greek and Roman

*Not borrowed
from other
nations.*

Roman divinities, and lost much time and pains to no purpose, to prove them to have been such^f; whereas, we hope, in the sequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of Celtic extraction. For the same reason we must be aware how we depend too much on those few ancient authors, whether Greeks or Romans, who have occasionally spoken of them. These slight particulars they have left us of Gaulish religion, sufficiently shew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in those points in which they do not disagree with one another, they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had considered it as the mother, and the other as the offspring.

Whether the Gauls, or ancient Celts, were the first introducers of these hypotheses, or adopted them in imitation of other ancient nations, is a very difficult point to determine. However, it is plain they in ancient times adored a Supreme Being under the name of Esus, which seems only a corruption of the old Celtic word Dhew, from which the Greeks probably borrowed their *Θεός* and *Ζεύς*, and the Romans their *Deus*. This opinion was religiously preserved by their druids; and if they, for worldly ends, or perhaps to please the people, whose impetuous desire after this novelty they could not resist, suffered the worship and images of these gods to be introduced amongst them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever lengths the laity might go in process of time; but the worship of the true God was still carefully kept up, and the oak esteemed the symbol of the Deity, as fire was among the Perses. To frame, therefore, a right notion of the religion of this, or any other nation, we must not judge of it by the corruptions introduced by a frantic populace, and connived at by the priests and philosophers, but as it was believed and professed by those who inculcated it. And in this case we shall perhaps find the most material difference between the religion of the Gauls and that of the Greeks and Romans, even with respect to those points in which they seem most to agree, we mean the worship of the same gods, in regard to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of them.

We think ourselves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the Gauls, as it is the source and foundation, not only of the ancient Germans, and other more ancient nations, but likewise of that of the ancient Britons, who were descended, and had received their religion, laws, and customs, originally from them; so that

*Worship the
Supreme
Deity.*

*The Gaul-
ish religion
the mother
of all
the north-
ern ones.*

^f Sched. Biblioth. Hist. Franc. p. 29. Vide Relig. des Gaul. Pref. p. 4.

what is said on that subject in this chapter, will serve as a clue to that of those other nations we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel; by which means we shall avoid many unnecessary repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to those points in which they differed from this their common mother; or in such cases, where there appears a necessity to shew the affinity they bear to each other. Here, then, we shall begin with an account of the different deities worshipped by the ancient Gauls, and the particular ceremonies and sacrifices used to each of them, not as they were transmitted to them from their Celtic ancestors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been said in their history, but as they were found when the Romans first became acquainted with their customs and constitution.

*Efus the
supreme
Deity.*

*Worshipped
by other
ancient
nations.*

*No temples
erected to
him by the
Gauls.*

*Worshipped
in groves.*

We have already mentioned, that they anciently worshipped the Supreme Deity, under the name of Efus or Hesus, and the symbol of the oak; and it will not appear extraordinary, that this notion of a Supreme Being should have been preserved among the descendants of Japheth, when we find such lively traces of it even among the idolatrous Syrians, Midianites, and even the Canaanites, as in the family of Laban, of Jethro, and of the two Abimelechs, kings of Gerar in the times of Abraham and Isaac, and some others we could mention, particularly the Gibeonites in Joshua's time, Adonibezek in the time of the judges, and Hiram king of Tyre, in the reigns of David and Solomon; who all not only retained the notion of the Deity, notwithstanding their idolatry, but had likewise a peculiar name for him, distinct from those of their other gods. To this observation we must add, that, in the midst of those heathenish superstitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, the Gauls never erected any other temples or idols unto this Efus or Supreme Deity; so that he seems to have been acknowledged by them, as the unknown God was worshipped by the Athenians; which notion was far from being peculiar to them. Others had also their unknown God, and owned themselves his offspring, though their opinion and worship of him were very imperfect, and, in many cases, quite unworthy of him, as even the Gauls did when they came to intermingle the Roman theology with their own. However, anciently they seem to have entertained some sublime notions of him; to confirm which opinion, we need only add what Tacitus says of the Senones, who were a branch of the Celts, and possessed of the same religion: They, says that author, have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. No

one is admitted to enter it, unless he carries a chain, in token of his dependence on the supreme dominion, which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none must dare to help him up; but he must either roll himself, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion consisted in an acknowledgement, that the Deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. Strabo relates much the same of the Celtiberians, another branch of the Celtes; and adds, that they worshiped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houses, all the night, in honour of him.

Their sublime notions of him.

Another remarkable circumstance in their religion was, their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them, and the old patriarchs and Jews, among whom that tree was in great esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. Abraham is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famed oaks, such as those of Mamre, of Moreh; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plains, yet, in the original, plainly signify an oak, or grove of oaks^g. He is said likewise to have planted groves of those trees; and, wherever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of Beerseba^h, Bethel, and the like appellations. The Gauls, in particular, improved upon this patriarchal custom; but, among them, the oak was esteemed and revered as an emblem, or as the peculiar residence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, especially the mistletoe, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was used as a panacea for man and beast, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contusions, and cuticular ailments, and also for inward diseases, and even barrenness and abortion, in men, women, and cattle. The leaves, or some small boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, under those trees, or in groves of oak. These, if we may guess from the few fragments preserved in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of Angleseyⁱ, and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees; we say, if we may guess

Their veneration for the oak.

Whence probably derived.

The mistletoe.

Their groves for worship.

^g Genes. xxi. 33. See also the margin of our Bibles, and the generality of commentators. ^h Gen. xxi. 31. Vide & Gen. xxviii.

ⁱ & alib. See Mona Antiqua, p. 91. & seq. Keyzler. Antiq. Septentrion. p. 177. & in addend.

Their form. at them by these few ancient monuments; these groves were of different forms, some circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the extent of the district or canton to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompassed with several rows of these oaks, set very thick and close. Within the large circle were several smaller ones, surrounded, as is supposed, with large stones, which served for the sacrifices, and other most solemn part of their worship. In the centre, or near it, of these small circles, were placed solid stones of a large size and convenient height, on which the victims were killed; dissected, and offered up. Each of these, being a kind of altar, was surrounded with another row of stones, the use of which cannot be easily ascertained, unless it was to keep the people at a proper distance from the priests that officiated. One or more of these interior circles are likewise thought to have served for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or assembly. How conformable the religion of the druids was to that of the patriarchs, in the most essential points, is what we shall now endeavour to evince.

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

1. The Gauls had a sovereign pontiff or head of the druidish order, to whom both these, and the whole nation, paid the most implicit obedience. The same we find among the Jews, to say nothing of Melchisedek, to whom Abraham paid tythes of the spoil he had lately gained.

2. The druids, under their head, had such an uncontrollable power and dominion, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, not only in religious, but civil matters; was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities. The Jewish high-priest, at the head of the sanhedrin, was regarded as the last appeal in all causes; and excommunication, the greatest punishment among the Jews, was to be the sentence of those who refused to abide by their decision.

3. The druids were obliged to assemble in the territories of Chartrain once a year. The Jews had their three grand festivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to Jerusalem.

4. The druids wore white garments: so did the Jewish priests.

5. The druids lived in woods and groves: so did generally the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the Essenes, a kind of monks among the Jews. The Gauls had too female druids, prophetesses, and aruspices. The Jews had Miriam, Aaron's sister, Deborah, Huldah, and other pro-

prophetesses, to say nothing of other women, who retained familiar spirits. Some of those females were in high estimation among the Gauls, and bore a great sway in the government: Deborah was a famed judge in Israel.

6. The Gauls consecrated to Mars, part of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The same custom prevailed among the Israelites with respect to those cities and kingdoms which were subject to anathema, as in the case of Jericho. The rest they divided among themselves, according to certain settled laws and customs. Moses, Joshua, and David, framed also laws on the same head, what portion should be offered to God, what given to the priests, and how the rest should be divided between the combatants and those who guarded the camp and baggage.

7. The Gauls worshipped a brazen bull; and the Israelites adored golden calves.

8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they transferred all the curses that threatened them. The Jews made the same use of their scape-goat^k.

9. The Gauls had power of life and death over their servants. The patriarchs and Jews claimed the same prerogative, the former even over their own families, as may be concluded from the instance of Judah and his daughter-in-law Tamar^l.

10. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and Jews computed; and, like them, distinguished the year only in three seasons, spring, summer or harvest, and winter. The autumn was so unknown to both, that they had no name for it.

11. The Gauls believed the immortality of the soul; so that no people under heaven could shew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and Jews, if we except the Sadducees, were remarkable for regarding this life only as a mere passage into a better.

12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own servants. We have an instance of this practice in Jephthah, one of the Israelitish judges, and his rash vow^m, though it was more common among the Phœnicians, and other ancient nations.

13. The Jews had the waters of jealousy, to assure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The Gauls had some kinds of ordeals or trials of the same nature; and Ju-

^k Cæs. Comment. lib. vi.
30, et seq.

^l Genes. xxxviii. 24.

^m Judges. xi.

lian the emperor asserts, that the waters of the Rhine had some secret virtue to punish incontinent wives (L).*

14. The druids made it a constant maxim not to commit any particulars of their laws, philosophy, or history, to writing; but to couch them in poems and canticles, to be learned and sung at proper places and seasons. These songs were, it seems, so multiplied in Cæsar's time, that it took up some druids near twenty years in acquiring them. We find that this was the ancient custom of the patriarchs, and other nations in Canaan before Moses, who quotes some of those canticles, and composed many himself, as did other prophets after him, in memory of signal victories and deliverances.

15. Some Gaulish nations carried their gods with them to war, as did the Israelites their ark, and their apostates the tabernacles of Moloch, Chiun, and Remphan^a.

*Human
victims
how offer-
ed.*

*The occa-
sion of some
of them.*

As to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, which began so early with the Gauls^b, and did not end till some centuries after their embracing Christianity, we can only speak of it as transacted out of their groves, or places of worship; for, as to what was done within them, no stranger was made acquainted with, much less admitted to see it. Concerning those unhappy victims, which were publicly offered, Cæsar and Plutarch gives us the following account: "When a man's life is in danger, either through sickness or other accident, they immediately sacrifice, or at least make a vow to sacrifice, some human victims; for, besides that they think them the most perfect and pleasing to the gods, they believe, that one man's life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no satisfaction could be made to them for their goodness to men. And these are the ceremonies established amongst them upon all such occasions". They erect a huge hollow pile of offer, which they fill with these unhappy wretches, who are quickly suffocated by the smoke, and reduced to ashes soon

*How per-
formed.*

^a Comment. ubi supra.

^b Procop. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 25.

^c Cæf. Comment. lib. vi. Plut. de Superstit.

(L) He tells us (1), that, when a Gaul suspected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they sunk, the woman was

deemed guilty, and put to death. If they swam, and moved towards the place where the flood trembling at a convenient distance, and ready to receive them, she was cleared, and restored to her husband's favour.

after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but where they are not to be found, the innocent must suffer in their stead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceased delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long since they threw likewise into it all his favourite servants and slaves. Some of his near relations (continues Cæsar), likewise flung themselves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world."

At funerals.

We hinted at their imitating, in some measure, the Jewish scape-goat, by devoting vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curses due to them might fall upon it. The Massilians, among the rest, are reported to have, in times of pestilence, made choice of some indigent person, that offered himself voluntarily, whom they fattened with the daintiest fare during a whole year; after which they decked him with garlands and other rich ornaments, and led him through the streets, loaded with the bitterest imprecations, to his death⁹. If the Gauls, in such calamitous times, could procure any of the handsomer and nobler sort to offer themselves to such a voluntary death, they not only preferred, but encouraged them by every incentive. These were led, like the poorer sort, out of the city, and stoned: the former were thrown down from a high precipice. The common notion among them was, that such a spontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to rank among the gods. In other cases, they either tied or nailed them to some tree or post, and shot them to death with arrows: others they burnt, with a number of beasts, on a pile of hay¹. It was also customary among them to reserve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in sacrifice with the first-fruits of their ground². They threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold, and other rich things, which it was death for any one to touch afterwards. Their brute victims were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers, and always officiated in white garments³; both in this, and all other parts of their worship: only the horses, which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt, with the bodies of the slain⁴. As the Gauls were addicted to all kind of supersti-

In their auguries, and other superstitions.

Offered in all calamitous times.

How chosen, and put to death.

Brute victims.

⁹ Petron. Satir. ad fin. Vide et Serv. Comm. in Æn. iii. ver. 38.
¹ Strab. lib. iv. ² Diodor. Sicul. lib. vi. cap. 9. ³ Cæsar. Comment. ubi supra. Vide et Keyzler Antiq. Septentr. p. 393. et 459. Pelloutier. Hist. des Celtes, Relig. des Gaul. et al. ⁴ Tacite German.

Superstitious observations and ceremonies.

tion, they used to be exceeding watchful of the singing and flight of birds, and other such omens. They never undertook any thing of consequence, without the advice of their aruspices, who were, for that reason, in high request among them. These carefully examined the entrails and blood of their victims: when they offered a human sacrifice, as they constantly did before they held a council, whether of the nation or district, they stabbed him behind, a little above the diaphragm, observed the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left side, or on his face, how the blood flowed from the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the case be what it would, or the appearances ever so unfavourable; insomuch that they have come to the head of an army, and prevented the battle, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to act contrary to what they prescribed.

Their altars. Reliques of them still extant.

We have already hinted, that their religious groves were distinguished by large stones, supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still remaining in several parts of France, Germany, England, Wales, Ireland, and the isle of Anglesey, and are of such a stupendous size, that the carriage and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of the demons, supposed to attend on that kind of worship.

How the Gauls assisted at these sacrifices.

The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of those altars, and other piles of huge stones which are to be found in almost every kingdom and province of Europe, together with such other monuments as describe the sacrifices that were offered there, and the apparatus and instruments that were used in them; but they generally deal so much in conjectures, and agree so little with each other, that it is no wonder this kind of study has been disrelished by the far greater part of the learned: so that it would be lost time for us to enter farther on this subject; all that we think necessary to add is, that the Gauls are affirmed by the generality of authors to have constantly assisted at these sacrifices completely armed, and to have carried some small thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands*, after it had been offered up, or had been led to the altar.

They had not temples before the arrival of the Romans, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after Cæsar's conquering them. Maximus Tyrius, who lived long after

* Strab. lib. iv. Just. lib. xxiv. cap. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Comment. lib. vi. * Cæs. ubi supra, Diod. Sic. Mel. lib. iii. et al.

him, tells us expressly, that they had not any other statue of Jupiter but a tall oak^y; which could hardly be supposed to be growing in a temple, any more than those amazing piles of hay, and other combustibles, in which^z they used to burn their numerous human victims. can be imagined to have been reared in any such close places. Their groves, such as we have described them, were much fitter for those ceremonies; and this appears to have been one chief difference between the Gauls and the Greeks and Romans^a. Mars, as we have formerly shewn, was only worshipped under the figure of a naked sword, which was deposited upon an altar in one of those groves; but as they had then a custom to offer what spoil they took from their enemies, Cæsar tells us, they generally deposited it in any place where they chanced to be. There they sacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the rest of the plunder in vast heaps in the open country; which were, nevertheless, held so sacred by the people, that none dared touch any part, though there were amongst them great quantities of gold, silver, and other rich commodities; for he relates, that those consecrated heaps were to be found in most cities in Gaul^b. This seems likewise another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who preserved those treasures in their temples, as in places of the greatest safety; whereas the Gauls left them exposed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields; or at most in lakes and groves, which were on that very account esteemed sacred: even the Britons, who certainly had such kind of temples, if any other Gauls had, because their's was counted the standard of the Gaulish religion, seem to have performed all their religious ceremonies in woods and groves; and yet many learned antiquaries are of opinion, that the celebrated ruins on Salisbury Plain, known by the name of Stonehenge, could be nothing else than a temple of the Druids^c.

Mars, how represented and worshipped.

Britons the standard of the Gaulish religion.

^y Maxim. Tyr. Serm. xxxviii. supra.

^z Cæsar Comment. Strab. ubi

^a See Voss. in Maimon, Aboda Zara, cap. 1. not.

^b Reines. apud Relig. des Gaul. p. 119, & seq. ^b Diod. Sic. lib.

v. cap. 2. ^c De hoc. vid. Camden. Brit. Inigo Jones, Stonehenge. Charlton. Choir Gaur. Stukely's Stonehenge.

S E C T. III.

How and when the Ancient Gauls introduced the Worship of inferior Deities among them.

When temples, altars, and statues, began to be reared in Gaul.

THOUGH the Romans had gained a considerable footing in Gaul before the arrival of Julius Cæsar, yet they had not been able to persuade this people to imitate them in rearing temples to any deity. If they had, Cæsar would not have failed to mention this circumstance; he who took such pleasure in relating how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over to the Roman interest, and to a fondness for some of their customs. Since then there is not the least hint of it in any author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practice of this nation, we may safely conclude that they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign custom. The Gauls laid it down as a constant maxim, to wage open war against, to plunder and demolish all such structures, from a principle they held in common with the Persians, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place.

Polytheism how introduced.

We cannot affirm with the same certainty that they did not imitate the Romans in another part of their religion, the worship of a plurality of gods and goddesses, before their conquest. We are told, that they worshipped Mars under the emblem of a naked sword; and that Mercury was held in the highest veneration among them all over Gaul^d, doubtless on account of the benefits and improvements which their trade, commerce, arts, and sciences, had received from him, and of which we have spoken in a former volume. These deities, as well as Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Venus, and Diana, being all of Celtic extraction, it was much more natural for the Gauls to deify them, as having formerly reigned over that nation, than for the Romans and Greeks to adopt or challenge them from others as their own.

Their gods of Celtic extraction.

Their Roman tyrants.

With respect to the polytheism of the Gauls, perhaps they were rather forced to it by those under whose tyranny they afterwards groaned, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of respect for their deceased princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to such a brave and warlike nation as the Gauls, the Roman yoke must appear intolerable; and that they could not be ex-

^d Cæf. Comment. ubi sup. lib. vi.

pected to submit longer than they were compelled by the superior power of their tyrants: and as these made it their constant practice to introduce their religion, laws, and customs, wherever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, must be extremely averse to all such changes, and use all their power and authority, which was still very great, and almost uncontrollable, either to oppose them, or to prevail on the people to shake off the yoke; so that there was a kind of necessity for the Romans to devise some plausible pretence to strip them of their power, and force them to a blind and abject submission. Accordingly we find, that several emperors took an effectual method to suppress the druidish power, by issuing some severe edicts against the bloody custom of offering human sacrifices. Augustus was the first who published a decree against them, and at the same time introduced a census among the Gauls; upon which the whole nation was ready to revolt: but by the address and authority of Drusus, who was left in that country, they were not only prevented from rising, but prevailed upon to assist at the dedication of Julius Cæsar's temple, and to build an altar to Augustus. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there; and the druids, by this time in less authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above mentioned altar to him: and this is the reason why Claudius renewed it against them (M).

*Strenuous
opposition
against it.*

*Their
power
suppressed
by Augustus.
His census
in Gaul.*

*Claudius's
decree
against the
druids.*

It appears very probable that these edicts against the druids, and their rites, were not so much framed to abolish their sect and religion, as to intimidate them, and suppress their exorbitant power, which, by this time, was grown to such a height, that they over-ruled all courts and councils, raised whom they chose to the highest dignities, and even to the crown, and often aspired to and obtained it for some of their own order. They directed in making peace and war, and even after they were conquered by the Romans,

*When in-
troduced.
The power
of the
druids*

(M) However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them than that of Augustus, since we find them still not only in high repute some centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors Severus, Aurelian, and Dioclesian. They subsisted even down to the times of Solinus Polyhistor, and of Eusebius of Cæsarea (1), and much longer still in their chief abode in the province of Chartrain, where whole towns continued in their ancient paganism down to the fifth century (2).

(1) Polyhist. cap. 21. Præp. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 17.
Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 32.

(2) Vide
could

*inclines the
people to a
change of
religion.*

could excite the people to a general revolt; and so jealous were they grown of their usurped authority, that they punished all that disobeyed or disputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more suitable to the Roman policy, than to suppress and crush so dangerous a set of men; and since religion was the common pretext to gain their exorbitant authority, so that there was no possibility of pulling down the one without abolishing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to exert all their power and address to bring about such a total change, and introduce their religion amongst them. There could not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period offered, when the Gaulish nation, groaning under a double, and a divided tyranny, that of their conquerors, and that of their Druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no small happiness to be eased of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, seemed the most intolerable of the two; for the Romans seldom made use of force, when they could gain their ends by promises, or even bribes and rewards: whereas the druids, if we credit the Roman authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrolled sway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forsaken by their own people, they were at length forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for those of their conquerors.

*Gaul at
length
over run
with Ro-
man ido-
latry.*

*Jupiter
substituted
to Esus.*

In the time of Cæsar, who left the Gauls to the free enjoyment of their rites, and even of many of their laws and customs, there was not any temple built, or any place of worship but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the Lugdunenses building a stately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to Augustus, then on the throne, and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his successor Tiberius, the chief deity Esus was transformed into Jupiter the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it appears, divided his worship with him for a while; both were worshipped at first in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former was entirely swallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and statues were erected after the Roman manner over all the conquered parts of Gaul. After a few reigns, during which they were still greatly oppressed, and made several vain attempts to regain their liberty, the whole country was filled with Roman temples, all their deities adopted and worshipped, and scarce any traces left of their ancient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to these new deities, and perhaps also in their auguries. To these we may add the great veneration which they still retained for their oaks, notwithstanding

notwithstanding their multiplicity of temples, which continued, according to some authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of these was dedicated to a hundred deities, as appears by the inscription engraven on a column, which the reader will find in the note (N). However, the sluice thus broken, an inundation of superstition and idolatry ensued, which nothing could resist; and the Gauls, having once shaken off the yoke of their druids, became so enamoured with the pageantry of polytheism, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marshes, and even fountains, to all which they ascribed some peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was regarded as the highest sacrilege to fish in them, to draw or drain them, and especially to pervert any treasures that were committed to their care and protection (O). To all these changes the druids found themselves obliged to submit, to avoid the penalties of those edicts; and so compliable did they shew themselves, that from that time, whether to make their court to the Romans, or to take off the odium of their name, they exchanged it for that of Senani, which

Gauls run into all kinds of superstition.

The power of the druids curtailed.

(N) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. Severus, the inscription engraven was to preserve the memory of it; "Arborem divus Severus everit centum deorum." Our author adds, that in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and silver, which was expended by that saint in the building of a church since dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (1).

(O) Of these lakes, and fountains, some were dedicated to one deity, some to another. The Hermonduri and Catti waged a bloody war against each other for the property of one of these fountains, which was a salt one; and the former at length gained their point against the latter, by a vow which they made to sacrifice their enemies, and all their spoil, to Mars and

Mercury: which was accordingly done; the Catti were all massacred without mercy, together with their horses, cattle, and all their spoil, and flung into the lake.

Abundance of gold, silver, rich clothes, and other costly articles they flung into them, which it was sacrilege to touch. We have spoken of the famous lake of Thoulouse dedicated to Apollo, whose treasures, especially in gold and silver ingots, and many utensils, amounted to immense sums, and was continually increased by fresh offerings (2): but as these places became liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as by their neighbours, they began to deposit those sacred treasures in their temples, of which they reared soon after an astonishing number.

(1) Jo. de Bosc. Antiq. Vien. p. 4. Tabl. au des Prov. Franc. tom. ii. p. 107. apud eund. (2) Oros. lib. v. cap. 15. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. Aul. Gell. lib. iii. cap. 9.

in their language signified *elder* or *venerable*. From hence we may date their ruin, though they were not quite abolished till some ages after; for being once reduced to so low an ebb, and become such servile creatures to their new and potent masters, it is not to be supposed that these would ever suffer them to recover it again: but if they still permitted them to make a gain of religion, it could be only in the worship and rites of those new deities, which they had now obliged them to adopt.

*Multiplicity
of temples,
statues, &c.*

This multiplicity of deities, or rather of consecrated lakes and marshes, did not prevent them from building a great number of temples, altars, and statues, after the Roman manner, several of them very stately, and in the grand taste, as is evident from some remains of them, and other monuments of that nation. In these they commonly sacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered vows and rich donatives; but they still offered human sacrifices, it seems ^e, under their oaks, and in their groves: whether they did it for privacy, and to avoid the penalty of the Roman edicts, or still retained their ancient notion of that Supreme Being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, we will not determine. To give our readers a specimen of these buildings, we are told that the statues of these gods, such as Pennin, Mercury, and Diana, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were placed sometimes on pedestals which served likewise for altars, sometimes on columns of a prodigious height ^f. In some they were exposed to the open air, and in others sheltered by an edifice of polished stone, in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no less rich and magnificent, witness that called Vassoat Clermont in Auvergne, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered on the outside with sculpture, curiously wrought and polished, and on the top incrustated with marble, and compartments of mosaic work. The pavement was likewise of marble, and the top covered with lead. A learned French antiquary mentions eight of these stately fabrics of an octagonal form, whose eight faces were adorned with figures of Gaulish deities, generally eight in number ^g (P). By the multitude of niches that appear

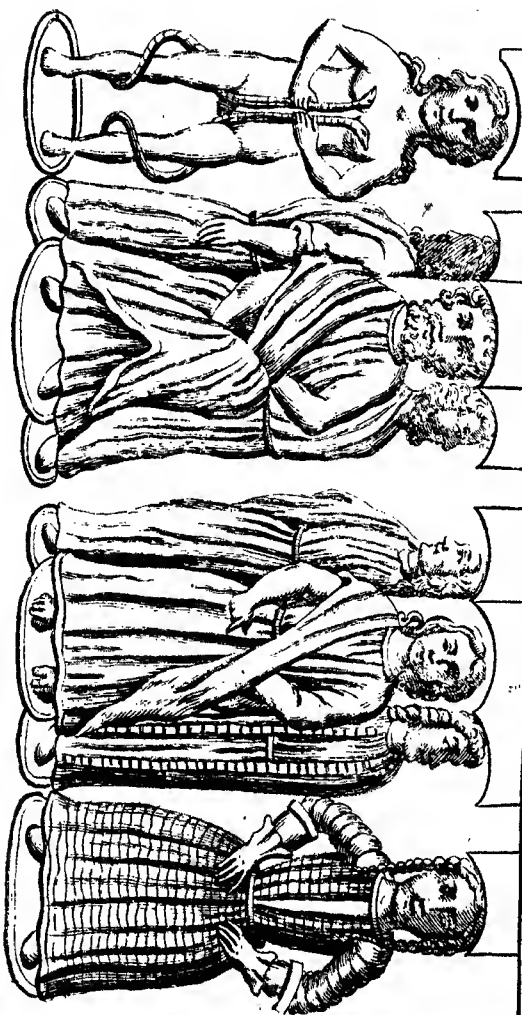
*Their temples
described.*

^e See Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 15. ^f Greg. Tur. lib. viii. cap. 15. Sulp. Sever. Dial. lib. iii. cap. 9. & seq. Guich. Hist. des scavans. ap. Relig. des Gaul. ubi supra. ^g Supplem. de l'Antiq. tom. ii. See also Relig. des Gaul. ubi supra, cap. 16, & seq.

(P) The most remarkable lon, in the province of Poitou, structure of this kind, now remaining, stands at Montmorillon, and consists of two temples, one above, and the other under ground.

*The side on w. the right figures
stand over the Temple gate.*

The Eight figures over the Gate of the Temple.



appear in some of them, they seem to have had a great number of statues which were mostly demolished, upon their conversion to Christianity: some of them, since dug out of their ruins, are so broken and mutilated, that it is difficult to guess whether they were Gaulish deities, or statues of any other kind. A great many of these edifices have been preserved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of Christianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were demolished.

*Multiplicity
of statues.*

We now come to speak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worshipped by the Gauls. We have already seen, how their ancient Esus came to be changed into Jupiter, at first indeed under the symbol of an oak, and even of a shapeless stump of a tree; but at length, as they gave wholly into the Roman superstition, they erected altars and statues to him, and represented him after the Roman manner: thus, in some ancient statues and bas-reliefs, he is represented with a lance in one hand, and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and bosom bare; his head is sometimes surrounded with a radial crown; the name of Jupiter is never found in one of his inscriptions, but only that of Jou, or Jovis, which being of Celtic extract, was designedly retained. He is likewise surnamed Taran, which in the same tongue signifies *thunderer*. We would not, however, pretend to affirm, that this last name is the Taramis, or Taranis, of Lucan, or that the Gauls did not bestow it on any other god but the great Jupiter; but we may be assured, that that of Jovis was peculiar to him, and has been preserved not only by the ancient Gauls and Welsh, but is still retained by the French in many of their compound words (Q). In that part of Gaul nearer the Alps, he was styled Peninus, and those high mountains Peninæ, from the Celtic word *pen*, which signifies a *head*, a *height*, a *summit*. He was represented as a young man naked, on a column reared on the top of Mount St. Bernard the Less, by L. Lucilius, and is styled Optimus Maximus; whence it is concluded, that he was the same with the Gaulish Jou, or Jove. What seems to confirm this opinion beyond all question is, that the column on which it stood is indif-

*The Gods
worshipped
by the
Gauls.*

Jupiter.

ground. For the particulars of the description, we must refer the reader to Keissler. Antiq. Septentr. apud Relig. des Gauls. lib. i. cap. 15.

(Q) Particularly in those that follow; Joudy or Jeudy,

Thursday, or day of Jove; Joumount, Joubarb, the Mount of Jove, a mountain so called by the Romans; and the beard of Jove, an herb so called, from its resemblance to it; and many more of the like nature.

ferently

which are the cause of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the sun. The variety of inscriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, proves him to have been in the highest esteem.

Apollo was another of their deities, held in great veneration, on account of his being the god of physic. The druids, who were as famous quacks as priests, failed not to celebrate him, as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their materia medica, which chiefly consisted in herbs, gathered and prepared with a great many superstitious ceremonies (R). The Aquileians and Tectosagi chose him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vast territory about Tholosa, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is supposed to be the same that is mentioned by Eumenius *, on account of Constantine's repairing thither, to return thanks for his late success, and the extraordinary presents he made; upon which occasion that author styles it the finest temple of Apollo that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, containing a great number of niches and statues, and, among the rest, that of Apollo, represented as a beautiful youth; upon which account the panegyrist compliments that monarch

*Apollo was
shipped as
the god of
physic.*

*His stately
temple at
Tholosa.*

* Eumenius, Panegy. Constant. sub fin.

(R) They had an herb dedicated to Apollo, or Belenus, which they called, from him, Belinuncia, and the Romans Apollinaris; and is supposed to have been a kind of henbane. The Spaniards and Hungarians retain still the former of these names, the one calling it Veleno, and the others Belend.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women assembled, and chose from amongst them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance. She stripped herself naked, and went, at the head of the rest, in search of this herb, which they then called Bælisfa. When she had found it, she

plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of her right hand, and tied it to a string, the other end of which was fastened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company then cut off each some boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilst she dragged the plant with her foot towards the next river, and there plunged it in the water: the rest dipped likewise their boughs, and sprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they set out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (1).

(1) Relig. des Gaul. Burchard. Decret. lib. xix.

ferently called the column of Jove, and of Peninus; and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of Jove, and the eye of Peninus^b: but since by the eye of Jupiter was meant the Sun from all antiquity^c, and the carbuncle was a proper emblem of this last deity, why may we not as well suppose this statue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it, rather than to Jupiter? However that be, as this last succeeded their great Esus, they paid much the same worship to him, and in particular offered human victims, as the Romans did to their Jupiter Latialis.

Mars.

Their next deity was Mars, whom they esteemed as the chief protector of the Gaulish nation. Their invincible warlike temper inspired them with such a veneration for, and confidence in him, that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their possessions, and about the time of the onset they dedicated to him all the plunder^k. If they obtained the victory, they frequently sacrificed their prisoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their slain enemies about the necks of their horses, in token of their valour. They even inclosed some of the most considerable in frames of cedar, and upon proper occasions shewed them to strangers, and at no rate could be prevailed upon to part with them^l. Another barbarous custom they are justly branded with, of poisoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a deadly quality^m. In times of sickness, or imminent danger, they immediately sacrificed human victims to Mars, or vowed to do so, as soon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common, in pressing dangers, to sacrifice all their enemies to that deity, and to massacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or distinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worshipped under the emblem of a naked sword, and under the name of Mars, or Mavors, or Mawr-ruise, which signifies *warlike*, or *powerful*. Since then we find him represented in the habit of a Roman warrior, with a spear in one hand and a shield in the other, and distinguished by the surname of Camulus. We are told, that the Accitani of Spain, or the inhabitants of Cadiz, a Gaulish colony, represented him surrounded with rays of light, because, says our authorⁿ, the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal spirits,

*Their cruel
vows to
him;*

*and other
barbarous
customs.*

^k Guichenon. Hist. of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. cap. 4. Vide Relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. cap. 29.

^l Vide Macrobian. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21.

^k Ulp. Fragm. tit. 21. Comment. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Athen. lib. iv.

^l Strab. lib. iv.

^m Rhodig. lib. xxiii.

cap. 12. ⁿ Macrobian. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 19.

which

with joining to the youthfulness of the god the grandeur of an emperor (S).

*Mercury
the god of
trade,
learning,
&c.*

But the deity in greatest veneration among the Gauls was Mercury. We have already given some reasons for it in the Celtic history. Other deities had particular cities and provinces, where they were more particularly worshipped; but, after this deity was adopted the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was anciently esteemed the author, and chief promoter, in Gaul, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, statues, altars, and temples were erected to him in every place throughout this country. He is called, by several ancient authors, Theutat, and Theutates P, the signification of which name we have given, as well as that of Mercury, in a former volume; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshipped under both by the Gauls, since both are of Celtic extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him upon both accounts. That of Theutat signifying *the father of his people*, they acknowledged him under that name, at first as their founder, and afterwards boasted themselves to be sprung from him, in imitation of the Thracian kings, who were another branch of the ancient Celtes. Mercury was esteemed the god of riches^q; no man could

*His various
names,
whence..*

^p Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. Liv. decad. iii. lib. vi. cap. 44. Lactant. & al. ^q Caesar. Comment. lib. vi.

(S) He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses. In some ancient bustos found of him, as well as in many coins, he is represented with a pole, or ring, and a link of a chain fastened to his scull, by which he was suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fancied to be suspended by a golden chain. One head of his was dug up at the castle of Pognac, which place is supposed to have been so called from Apollo, and is still to be seen in that place. It is but ill carved, on a bluish stone, between four and five feet in height and

breadth, surrounded with rays, which, when the sun shines upon it, cast a kind of golden or fiery lustre, and shew that those rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded to be here represented as delivering his answer; and indeed the druids were, by this time, become such zealous mimics of the Greeks and Romans, that we need not doubt but they had some one or more of these oracles among them, though we could not find any other footsteps of it (2).

(2) Reliq. des Gaul. *ubi supra.*

attain

attain them without his help: hence he came to be confounded with Pluto, and to share in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, Mercury, being dead, became Pluto, the god of riches, and of the lower regions: and hence both Gauls and Thracians claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only Mercury, but even Venus and Mars, were numbered among the infernal gods. As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess Proserpina, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of Proserpine, whom, Strabo says, they worshipped as their mother^r; or, perhaps, of Diana, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, we may reckon three Gaulish Mercuries, or rather the same god worshipped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms (T).

*Esteemed
the god of
riches.*

*Reckoned
among the
infernal
deities.*

How he was worshipped by the Gauls under any of these three denominations, is difficult to determine; only as he

^r Lib. iv.

(T) As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner described by Lucian, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was exhibited naked, without sex and beard, and with his winged cap and caduceus. He is under this head, likewise, represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues, he has a crescent over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the Gaulish worship, and that, probably, upon these two accounts: first, as the one was the

dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called Trivia; and both protected the roads, travellers, thieves, shepherds, and shepherdesses (3), upon which account these likewise offered sacrifices (4). As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard; his winged cap rather resembled a disk, and, instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with an imperial mantle, or paludamentum, tied or fastened by some ornament on one of his shoulders.

(3) Porph. de Abst. lib. ii. Macrob. Somn. Scip. lib. i. Aug. Hymn. in Mer. ver. 15, 290. (4) Eustat. Odyss. 5. Iliad. 5.

was, in imitation of the Romans, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may suppose they borrowed some of their rites from the worship which was paid to him by the Roman merchants. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feast, was a sow with pig. Some other male deities they had likewise adopted, such as Mithras, from the Persians; Neptune, Erebus, and Orcus, supposed both to be the same with Pluto, Bacchus, and some others, whom they took from the Greeks and Romans; concerning which we know very little, either of their worship, or of the notion which the Gauls had of their power and attributes.

Goddeffes.

The chief of their goddeffes were Diana or Luna, Juno, Minerva, Vepus, Proserpine, Arduina, whom we suppose to be the Moon, and Cybele, a statue of which was dug up at Paris, having a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, particularly venerated in the city of Autun, where her priests were castrated in honour of her, and from thence called Galli (U). Before we close this section, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the Gaulish druids and bards, and of such of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at least as far as we can

Galli, who.

(U) That Cybele, or the mother of the gods, as she is called, was a deity of Syrian, and not of Gallic extract, is universally acknowledged: so that if her worship was introduced into Gaul, it was either by force, or in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. If we consider their abhorrence of all mutilations, we can hardly think, that they would willingly adopt such a kind of worship as this, which required every priest, and encouraged every votary of the goddess to become an eunuch. We are, moreover, told, that those Galli were held in such abhorrence, that no other people would converse with them; and that they were placed upon the level with forcers, gladiators, and executioners (1); so that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddess about, and begging

charity for her sake; all which discipline was entirely opposite to the genius of the Gallic nation.

Accordingly, St. Jerom has a passage, which plainly intimates, that the Romans forced this emasculated priesthood upon the Gauls, and called those eunuchs Galli, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and besieged their Capitol. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that no Roman took that office upon him, but that they had a Phrygian male and female to perform it. This might be true, in some degree; and if what is reported of Heliogabalus, who became one of them, is to be credited, it will only shew, that he regarded the laws and customs of Rome no more in this case, than he did in all others.

(1) Tertul. de Resurrect. cap. 6.

glean from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning a set of men, who made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit to writing any thing relating to either^a.

We have already observed, that the order of the druids had the sole care of all religious matters, which they so artfully and dextrously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation; and this absolute power of theirs lasted till at least some time after their conquest by the Romans. They were called by several names (W), besides that of druid. Their antiquity is considered of the same

Their druids.

date with the Brachmans of India, Magi of Persia, the Chaldees of Babylon and Assyria, and, in a word, with the oldest sects of philosophers^b. Indeed, considering the surprising conformity of their doctrine, notwithstanding their great distance from each other, we cannot otherwise account for it, but by supposing, that they all received it from the same person, namely, Noah, and his immediate descendants, and carried it each to the different places of their dispersion; for they can never be supposed to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in those early times: at least the druids of Britain, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and from whom the Gauls received all their religion and philosophy, cannot be supposed to have

Conformity of their doctrines with those of the Brachmans, &c.

^a Cæf. Comment. lib. vi. & alibi pass. ^b Vide int. al. Laert. in Proem. Orig. cont. Celf. lib. v. Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. Polyhist. apud eund. lib. i. Celf. apud Orig. ubi supra.

(W) One of them was that of Semnothei (2), given, doubtless, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. Diodorus Siculus styles them saronides, on account of their great regard to such old oaks as were decayed, and stripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of the word, according to Hesychius.

The last name we shall mention, was that of Senani, which we hinted above was, probably, assumed by them as more pleasing to the Romans, it properly signifying a wise or venerable man; as their druidesses were

called senoe, and senes (3). This was probably done in imitation of the sect of gymnosophists, who agree with them in many things, particularly, in having their societies composed of males and females, like the Gaulish druids, in studying philosophy, astrology, prying into futurity, and living in celibacy. These were by the Greeks called semnones; the Gauls, among whom the *mn* was, and is still, in many provinces, pronounced like *nn*, called them sennones, and, in the Latin termination, sennopi and sennani.

(2) Diog. Laert. in Proem. Suid. in Voc. (3) Met. lib. iii.

had it from any of these foreign sects, to whom they were utterly unknown.

Their excessive power.

Among other instances of the excessive power of the druidish tribe, Cæsar mentions one, by which we may guess at the rest; namely, that they chose the annual magistrates of every city, who had, during that year, the supreme authority, and sometimes the title of king; and yet these could do nothing without their approbation and advice^u: so that, notwithstanding their great pomp and state, they were but the creatures and slaves of the druids. They exerted the same arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other cases, and were every where esteemed as the chiefs of every Gaulish commonwealth. They had the sole management and instruction of youth in every thing but the military art. In this last respect the druids, and their disciples, were not only exempt from going to war, but from all kind of tribute likewise. Their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of Gaul; but every man had power to offer himself as a candidate, and, if approved by the society, was admitted into it. Their grand druid was chosen from amongst them by the plurality of votes; and, when any dispute arose, it was often terminated in this, as in other cases, by the sword. We have already observed, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their mysteries and learning in verse; and these, it seems, were multiplied in time to such a number, that it took some of them twenty years to learn them all by heart.

Exempt from war, &c.

Grand druid how chosen.

Committed nothing to writing.

The three grand articles of their religion.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion consisted, 1. In their worship of the gods. 2. In abstaining from all evil. And, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occasions^w. In order to inspire them with a contempt of life, they taught the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

Their great skill in astronomy, &c.

Practised physic.

They also pretended to great skill in some branches of geography and astronomy; from which they assumed a knowledge of the divine will; pretended to pry into futurity, and to foretel strange events. Pliny adds, that they studied natural philosophy, and practised physic^x. This last consisted chiefly in the knowledge and use of simples; but they soon found out a way to render it more intricate and mysterious, by intermingling it with astrology, and other superstitious rites.

Their druidesses, or female druids.

Before we leave this subject, we must not omit saying something of their famed druidesses, and the great esteem

^u Cæs. Comment. lib. vii. Vide & Dio. Chrysost. Orat. xlii.
^w Diog. Laert. lib. i. ^x Vide Nat. Hist. lib. xxiv. & seq.

they were in among the Gauls, as well as the Germans. Anciently the Gaulish women bore a great sway in this country, of which the druids, in time, stripped them; but it is likely, that the druidesses held still great part of their own power, especially on account of their being thought endowed with the spirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing else; and some of them were among the lowest rank of people.

There were three classes of druidesses in Gaul, the chief of which was those who lived in perpetual virginity; for these were thought to possess the spirit of prophecy. The next was those who, though married, were yet obliged to abstain from the matrimonial intercourse, except one single time in the whole year, when they were allowed to converse with their husbands; after this communication, they returned to their office, which was, to assist the druids at their religious functions. The last were a kind of servants or attendants, on the others; and this circumstance we learn rather from old monuments and inscriptions, than from ancient authors, who have said little more of them, than that they were prophetesses. The druids and druidesses pretended to a great knowledge in astrology, calculated nativities, erected figures, and foretold strange things, both by that art, and by their inhuman auguries (L). But those, who were styled prophetesses, were thought to have a gift superior to the rest, which was revered as supernatural; these were called by some superior title, such as that of dame was heretofore among us, and were in the highest request, not only among their own people, but likewise among foreign nations.

† Tacit. lib. iv. cap. 54. & seq. de Mor. Germ. Dio, in Fragmentis. Plin. & al.

(L) The druidesses were, on these occasions, like the druids, clothed in white tunics, fastened with hooks; and girt with a brass girdle, and without shoes. As soon as the Cimbrians had taken any captives, these women flew upon them with drawn swords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a capacious labrum, or cistern, by the side of which was a kind of foot-stool, on which the druidesses then officiating, stood, who plunged a long knife into the breast of each of these unfortunate wretches, one after another, as fast as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood she formed her predictions. The other druidesses, who assisted, took up the breathless bodies, opened and examined their intrails, and from thence likewise foretold events, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

Witcheries.

The others were much less regarded; and their night-assemblies about ponds and marshes, to worship and consult the moon, and some other forceries they pretended to use, caused them to be considered as downright witches, cannibals, lamæ, pythoniæ, striz, and every thing that is detestable and horrid, by Christian authors, from the sixth century to the present time^a.

*The bards,
their office.*

The next order among them, in great esteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and asserted the former to be only a more modern name given to them; but there is a passage in Strabo, which entirely explodes that notion, where he says^a, that the druids were in the highest power, and gave laws to the vates, eubages, and bards, who were everywhere to allow precedence when they pleased to demand it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their consent and approbation. Besides, we are told by a number of other authors, that these bards were so called from their office, which was, to sing the praises of their heroes^b, and to accompany their songs with musical instruments; and that their compositions were held in the highest esteem, as the most effectual means of eternizing the memory of those who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them.

*Different
from the
druids.*

One of the authors last quoted adds, that they could at any time restrain a whole army's engaging, by their interposition: so great a power had Wisdom and the Muses over those Barbarians. It was their business to accompany the Gaulish armies with their songs, which were generally calculated to inspire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death^c. During the attack, they used likewise to raise loud shouts, sometimes as of victory, at other times to intimate their danger, in case they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way; so that, though they did not really fight themselves, they were so intermingled with the army, that they ran, in a great measure, the same risk with those that did. By these means, they were eye-witnesses of the combatants, and either celebrated their praises in their songs, or censured those who had not done their duty; and as these might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol those who had been faulty, or in praising either too much or too little, for favour or interest, it is thought they acquired the name of parasites^d. To these two orders we may add those of the vates and euvates, or eubates, which were still inferior to

*Their office
in the army.**Vates and
euvates.*

^a Græter. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 27. ^b Strab. lib. iv.
^c Diod. Sic. lib. vi. cap. 9. Lucan. lib. i. ver. 447. Ammian. Marcel.
lib. xv. ^d Pausan. in Phoc. ^e Posidon. ap. Athen. lib. vi.

that

that of the bards; but whether they were so to each other, or the same under two names, is not easy to ascertain, with that glimmering light we have from ancient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids presided over all religious matters, and bore a great sway in those of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all transactions, and preserved in their poetic compositions the knowledge of things and persons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their songs, as the druids thought proper. The vates and euvates were singers of these bardish compositions, and retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praises and heroic acts; but the druids being more known to strangers than the rest, their name was given to all indifferently by ancient historians. *Their supposed office.*

We shall close this account of the Gaulish religion with observing, that, in spite of all the severe edicts of the Roman and Christian monarchs, there were still very visible traces of it, and of the very worst part of the druidish rites, practised not only long after the settling of Christianity in Gaul, but even to the middle of the sixth century, as appears by a remarkable instance, which we shall give in the note (O).

S E C T. IV.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Learning, Arts, Sciences, Commerce, and Customs, of the ancient Gauls.

WE have already spoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the Gauls, in the history of the Celtes their ancestors; of their migrations and settlement in Europe and of their ancient monarchical government. How and *Their government.*

(O) This fact is taken from Procopius, who was himself an eye-witness of it, and is as follows: Theodebert I. having penetrated into Italy at the head of a considerable army, and taken possession of the bridge of Pavia, his men offered in sacrifice the wives and children of the Goths, whom they had surprised, and cast their bodies into the river, as the first-fruits of that war. "For," says he, "the Franks, though Christians, still observe a great many of their ancient superstitions. They offer up human victims, and use many execrable rites in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the seventh century, gives a long catalogue of such superstitions, against which, as he was a bishop, and since sainted for his piety, he forewarns his Christian flock. The reader may see the passage at large in the authors quoted below (1).

(1) Vide Father Coint. tom. i. & iii. Fleury's Eccles. Hist. tom. viii. Relig. des Gaul. lib. i. cap. 7.

when it came afterwards to decline, and split itself into that variety of forms in which the Romans found them afterwards, were in vain to enquire, considering that they had neither history nor records, except what was couched in the songs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as possible, from public knowledge, and only sung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occasions, rather to stimulate the people to imitate their heroes, than to preserve any regular series of their transactions. All therefore that can be offered concerning this change, is as follows:

*Various
forms of it.*

The Gauls were by this time (though still under the same name, using the same language and customs, and governed by the same general laws) subject to different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly so, and partly democratical; and these were, by way of distinction called free^c. Tacitus reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities, or, as Cæsar more precisely explains it^f, regions, or districts, who were under this kind of government. These commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but anciently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military affairs^g; yet these, as well as those that were under a kingly government, observed one constant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common interest of the community, was debated and settled. The free commonwealths had, besides, a law common to them all, importing, that whoever heard any report, or rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council^h. This grand council was the dernier resort of the Gauls, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, and distribution of plunder, between district and district, was finally determined. Those small commonwealths seem to have had such an aversion to kingly government, that one of them, the nation of the *Ædui*, ordered the great Certillus, the father of Vercingetorix, a man in great power and credit,

*Grand
council of
the nation.
Those of
the free
republics.*

*Grand
council the
dernier re-
sорт.*

*Intestine
divisions.*

^c Cæsar. Comment. lib. i. cap. 1. lib. vi. cap. 4. ^f Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. ^g Strab. lib. 7. ^h Comment. lib. vi. cap. 4.

and esteemed the first man in Gaul, to be put to death, for having aspired to the kingdom¹. At the same time they were so extremely jealous of each other's strength, that they were obliged to enter into combinations, and the little republics to put themselves under the protection of the greater. Cæsar sometimes calls the former tributary and subject to the latter, but most commonly confederate with them. Upon his first entrance into Gaul he found it divided into two factions: the Ædui were at the head of one, and the Arverni conducted the other; and both, he relates, had for many years contended for the superiority, whilst the Bituriges, a people in the province of Berri, and neighbours of the Arverni, were still in subjection to the Ædui; and the Sequani, who lived in Upper Burgundy, now French Comté, and neighbours to the Ædui, were under the protection of the Arverni.

Such were the unhappy divisions between the Gaulish commonwealths, which gave so great an advantage to the Romans against them, and which these last failed not to improve. Cæsar, finding the Arverni averse to his measures, entered into an alliance with the Ædui, who were by this time become greatly inferior to that party, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the Roman people. Their example was soon followed by others; so that by cajoling some, and sowing jealousies and discords among others, he facilitated the conquest of that warlike nation.

*Improved
by J. Cæsar.*

*His policy
and ad-
dress.*

But, notwithstanding this great multitude and variety of commonwealths, it is evident that Gaul, Germany, and Spain, still abounded with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts governed by kings, whom the Romans styled reguli, but the Gauls called kings, however circumscribed their dominions. These differed from the magistrates of commonwealths, as they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, it not being hereditary, but sometimes conferred by the people upon such as were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the Bituriges placed a king over the Celtæ, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus²; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who came to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, acknow-

*Their petty
kings.*

*How cho-
sen.*

*Their
power li-
mited.*

¹ Vide & Comment. lib. vi. cap. 11.

² Livy, lib. v.

leges, with relation to himself: "The constitution of our government, says he, is such, that the people have no less power and authority over me, than I have over them!"

*Carested
and cor-
rupted by
J. Caesar.*

It is not easy to determine how many of these kingdoms and commonwealths there were in Gaul; but both were equally courted by the Romans, and for the same reason; namely, to withdraw from, and weaken the force of those that opposed their conquests. These petty kings, especially, were often corrupted by gifts, promises, or flattering titles, such as that of Friends and Confederates of Rome, to embroil the Gaulish affairs, and foment dissensions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the poorest and most inconsiderable amongst them were thought worth the trouble of bringing over; and if their corrupters found them busy and active in their interest, they rewarded them in such a manner as was most likely to draw others into the same treacherous practices. Among those whom Cæsar mentions among the friends and allies of Rome, was Catamantes, king of the Sequani, the grandfather of Piso, who reigned in Aquitain, and ^m whose name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and Olevico, king of the Nitiobriges, or people of Agenois, who had that title bestowed upon him by the Roman senate. He that made the noblest resistance against the Romans, was Divitiacus, king of the Sueffones, a brave people of Gallia Belgica, who was one of the most potent princes of Gallia. His territories were large and fruitful: he possessed twelve considerable cities, one of which, Noviodunum, now Noyons, Cæsar afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, notwithstanding they had brought five hundred thousand fighting men against him. This prince's dominions is said to have extended even to Little Brittany. He was succeeded by Galba, at the time when Cæsar invaded them^a. Thus much for the Gaulish government, which we shall close with a severe reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will shew how much their intestine feuds contributed to his conquest. "Among the Gauls (says he)^a, not only all their cities, cantons, and districts, but even almost all families, are divided and torn by factions. These are generally caused and fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exercise a kind of arbitrary power and authority over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public matters with an uncontrollable authority." Tacitus makes nearly the same observation^b; so that, in spite

*Several of
them fre-
quently op-
pose him.*

*The cause
of their
quick and
easy con-
quests.*

^a Cæs. Comment. lib. v. cap. 8.

^b Idem ibid. lib. ii. cap. 1, & seq.

^c Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. 11.

^m Idem ibid. lib. iv. cap. 3.

ⁿ Idem ibid. lib. vi. cap. 11.

of all their bravery, their ruin was inevitable, when so torn and dismembered from within, and invaded by such powerful and politic enemies from without.

Whether these disasters were occasioned through the want of a wise body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not easy to determine. We have, indeed, observed, in a former volume, that Mercury is said to have civilized the Celtic nation, in many respects, and, amongst other things, that he formed a code of laws. Another author gives the reputation of this to Samothès, a man of profound learning and wisdom among them, and said to have been the founder of the Celtic monarchy¹. But the nature of those laws (if any such there were), we cannot pretend to explain. If we may, however, guess from some instances of their history, they held one general maxim, that the longest sword had the best title; that it was the design of the Supreme Being, that the strongest should strip the weakest; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him by superior strength or valour.

Their laws unknown to us.

A strange maxim of the Gauls. They founded their right on their swords.

This maxim of their's was not confined to foreign conquests, but extended to the decision of private right among themselves; for when any debates arose about their possessions, about any injury or affront given or received, especially among those of rank, in case the council or public magistrate did not give sentence to the satisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by single combat. Neither could their magistrates deny them that liberty, when insisted upon by either party; nor could the opposite decline the challenge, without giving up his cause, and being branded with ignominy. Anciently, indeed, whilst the whole Gaulish nation were under a government chiefly composed of druids and bards, such disputes may have been, and, it is most likely, were actually decided by their courts and councils; but after the nation came to be separated into many different governments, they considered such subjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to substitute this way of single combat, not only as the shortest, but as the more honourable, and more agreeable to that received maxim of their's, that Providence was engaged to protect the right party; and that success was a sure token that the conqueror had the best title to the matter in dispute. And as the party who judged himself injured had a right to appeal to this kind of duel, to justify his dissatis-

Decided their law-suits, &c. by single combat,

Appealed to that from any court sentences

¹ Lewis's Hist. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i, chap. 2.

*and in all
dubious
cases.*

*Strange
fondness
for duels.*

*Excessive
love of
liberty.*

faction, even though the king himself had given sentence against him, and his opponent was obliged to submit to it; so if the case of the two contenders was so intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they adjudged them to terminate the contest by this method. Even the witnesses, if their depositions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themselves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by single combat, was esteemed of greater weight and authority than any sentence that was passed either by king, or court of judicature.

To such a degree of fondness for these single combats were they grown, that the candidates for places of honour or trust, when their pretensions or merit were esteemed nearly equal, had recourse to it; and, even among the druids themselves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any dispute arose about the number or validity of the votes of the electors*. And, what was still more surprising, these challenges were often sent for mere punctilios and trifling differences, especially at their feasts and drunken revels; many times out of mere ostentation, and to make parade of their strength and bravery (K).

The Gauls had such a singular contempt of life, that either upon the appearance of servitude, or incapacity of action through old age, wounds, or chronic diseases, they either put an end to their days, or else prevailed upon their friends to kill them, esteeming this last state as much a kind of

* Comment. lib. vi. cap. 13. Tacit. Ann. lib. xxiii. cap. 57. N. Damascen. Veget. de Re milit. & al.

(K) Livy, speaking of the funeral obsequies which Scipio Africanus celebrated to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the Spanish wars, tells us, that there came great crowds of persons of distinction to Carthage, a city in Spain, said to have been built by Asdrubal, to honour that ceremony by single combats. "These (says he), did not fight like common gladiators, either by force, or for money, but of their own accord, and free will." Some were sent thither by their princes, to display their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight out of ostentation; and others, because they could not refuse the challenge that was sent them. Amongst them were some, who, having lawsuits, or some controversies with others, agreed to put off the decision of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the estate or thing in dispute should fall to the conqueror (1).

(1) Livy, lib. xxviii. cap. 21.

slavery.

slavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themselves so closely besieged by their enemies, that they could resist no longer, instead of thinking how to make the most honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care in general was to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into slavery. In the field, when they were forced to make such a hasty retreat that they could not procure carriages for those who were not able to follow them on foot, as the sick and wounded, they made no scruple to dispatch them. And this was so far from being reckoned cruel and inhuman, that those who were disabled, begged, with the most earnest importunity, to be thus delivered from the power of their enemies (M).

Their desperate behaviour.

Personal courage, or contempt of danger and death, was every way as conspicuous in the women as in the other sex. It was a principle they seemed to suck in at the breast; at least it was inculcated in them during their most tender years. The Gaulish women exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner, to prevent their men from giving ground to the enemy; and even when they turned their backs, they fell with incredible fury upon the fugitives as well as upon their pursuers.

The bravery of the Gaulish women.

The Ambrones, says Plutarch*, (a Gaulish people, who lived near the foot of the Alps, between Switzerland and Provence), having been defeated by Marius near Aix in Provence, were pursued by the Romans quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with swords and hatchets, who mingling with the victors and the vanquished, did with one hand endeavour to wrench their bucklers from them, and with the other to dispatch them, never quitting their hold but with their lives. This effort

Some remarkable instances of it.

* Plut. in Vita Marii. Vide & Oros. lib. vi. cap. 16. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 3. Hieron. Epist. ad Geront.

(M) Brennus being dangerously wounded in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook against Greece, and seeing his army destroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, assembled the broken remnant of his troops, and advised them to choose Cichorius

for their leader, who should first dispatch him and all the sick and wounded, and afterwards lead them back into their own country. His advice was followed, and twenty thousand of that unhappy people were butchered. Brennus only chose to die by his own hands (1).

(1) Excerpt. ex Diad. Sic. lib. xxii. ap. legal. Hæschel. p. 158. Vide Pelloutier. Hist. Celt. lib. ii. cap. 14.

might

*Conditions
proposed to
Marius to
surrender.
Despair on
rejecting
them.*

might be imputed to their fury and despair; but when they found themselves lost beyond recovery, they demanded of the conqueror, that they might not be condemned to slavery: that their chastity might be preserved inviolate; and that they might be employed in the service of the vestals. These conditions having been rejected by Marius, they were all found next day either hanging on trees, or weltering in their blood, with their children butchered by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume, another, and even more dreadful instance of this love of liberty, in the Cimbric women; the circumstances of which are so horrible, that we hope we may save ourselves the trouble of repeating them. The same desperate resistance Julius Cæsar is reported to have experienced from the Helvetic women, when, having defeated their husbands, he came to take possession of their camp and baggage; for both the women and their young sons defended themselves to the last extremity, choosing rather to be cut in pieces than to be carried into slavery¹. The Dalmatian women are likewise reported to have set fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themselves and their children into it; whilst others precipitated themselves and their offspring into the next river².

*Their martial
discipline.*

What their military discipline was is difficult to ascertain: by what we have hitherto seen, it seems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in such vast multitudes, upon the enemy, with more fury than discretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hosts as occasion required, but trusting altogether to their numbers and valour, sufficiently proves them to have been greatly deficient in this respect: and this is the true reason why they had such ill success whenever they engaged with other nations, especially the Romans. Their chief talent consisted principally in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberless troops with incredible fury and speed, and spreading terror wherever they came; in surmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardships that fell in their way, and attacking their enemies with dreadful shouts and desperate eagerness, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almost peculiar to them; when all these efforts failed, as often happened when they were engaged with troops that were better disciplined, and trained up in all the refined arts and stratagems of war, their last resource was to signalize their valour and love of liberty, by such desperate methods as those we have lately

*Rude manner
of engaging,
fighting,
&c.*

¹ Plutarch. in Vit. Cæsar.
lvi. & lxxvii.

² Dio Cass. in Excerpt. Valer. Max.

hinter. Much of their success, and owing to their horse and armed chariots, in both which respects they displayed such a wonderful dexterity as, joined to their bravery, freedom failed of doing considerable execution. When they came to be rent into small kingdoms and commonwealths, their method was to divide their armies, in time of action, in the same manner, that the merit and prowess, as well as the faults and misbehaviour of every nation and tribe might be better known, and that every man might be thereby excited to advance the honour of that to which he belonged: but this disposition, though excellently well designed at first, was attended with great inconveniences, and often threw things into confusion, either for want of general discipline, or through the jealousy and misunderstanding between their commanders, and especially from the time the Romans undertook the conquest of Gaul, through the treachery of those who had been corrupted by them.

Dexterity of horse and armed chariots. An excellent method among them.

One particular more we must not omit, concerning their military discipline, which is their extreme superstition, in which they seemed to exceed all other nations; they were very careful in observing the moon in particular, and avoided, as much as possible, engaging the enemy before it was past the full. An eclipse was looked upon as such a bad omen, that no apparent advantage, how great soever, or indeed any thing but absolute necessity, could induce them to fight, and then they engaged more like desperadoes than regular troops. They gave particular attention to their druids and aruspices, who, in their auguries are branded with using some very inhuman ceremonies, which we have hinted in speaking of their religion. If the augury promised success, those diviners used to march before with songs and dances, and musical instruments, until the onset began; but if it proved otherwise, they forbore fighting, if possible, till they met with a more favourable omen; but dreadful was their case whenever they were forced to engage after a sinister omen, or threatening augury; for then such horror and despair reigned through their hosts, that they rather strove to avoid slavery by a speedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy.

Superstitious observations before they engaged.

With respect to their arms, whether through a parade of bravery, or a contempt of those which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others, in their wars with the Romans, than their bows and arrows, the sword and spear, which last was either longer or shorter, according to their fancy, and the shield; and yet it was with these weapons that they performed such astonishing feats as made them a long time a terror to their enemies.

Their armour, weapons &c.

*Contempt of
defensive
arms, war-
like en-
gines, &c.*

They despised the helmet, cuirass, and other defensive armour, and rather chose to fight half naked. They were utter strangers to those machines which other nations used in sieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather depended on a brisk and desperate attack, which they began with throwing clouds of stones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which they scaled them with the utmost fierceness and rapidity. This ferocity often proved fatal to them, especially when they chanced to meet with a repulse, as they frequently did from the Romans; for in all such cases they lost their courage and presence of mind, and suffered themselves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence (N). Let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and sciences, trade and navigation.

*Their lan-
guage an-
ciently the
old Gome-
rian or
Welsh.*

Their language is universally allowed to have been the old Celtic or Gomerian, of which we have already given an account; we shall, therefore, have the least to say of it here, except it be to relate the changes it underwent after it divided itself into as many dialects as the whole nation was parcelled out into little states. There is scarcely any doubt that the old Celtic was the common language spoken all over Europe. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which barely to abstract would carry us too far, and be thought, perhaps, too dry a subject for the greatest part of our readers; but he has farther confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the German language was originally a dialect of the old Celtic. It was that tongue which is still preserved in several parts of Europe, particularly in Biscay, Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, the Hebrides, and Highlands of Scotland, but no where more purely than in North Wales.

*Latin,
Greek, &c.
derived
from it.*

We formerly observed, that not only most of the modern European languages were manifestly dialects, more or less distant, of this old Celtic or Gomerian, but that even the Greek and Latin, and other ancient tongues, had such a surprising affinity with it, that many of them plainly ap-

v. Pellerin, Hist. Celt. lib. i. cap. 15.

(N) Those who chose rather to surrender, laid down their arms and preserved their lives, besides bare submission, and the women their modesty, in token of submission; after which they fastened some of their money, plate, and fine cloaths amongst them to bribe their conquerors. These instances, however, of submission were but scarce and rare amongst them, in comparison of those in which they preferred death to slavery.

peared

peared to be of Celtic extract. We may add what Quintilian observes of the ancient Latin, that till about the middle of the consular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expressions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, most of them Gaulish; so that if those which have been since lost, or changed, were to be added to those which still remain, the conformity would appear yet greater: and if those Gauls who were afterwards conquered by the Romans, had not, partly out of necessity, partly out of mere complaisance, adopted a great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might still behold a much greater similarity between the Low Briton, Biscayaner, north Irish, and the pure North Welsh: so that the only reason why these last have retained in such purity, must be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themselves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the Israelites, during their long abode in Egypt, preserving their original Hebrew, which they suffered to be greatly corrupted, and almost lost in a seventy years captivity. As it is universally allowed, that most of the Asiatic tongues, such as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, &c. borrowed most of their radical or primitive words from the Hebrew, so this old Celtic, or Gomerian, which was the language of Gomer, and his descendants, who first inhabited Europe, was the mother of most of the European languages, at least as far as Scythia and Sarmatia, which were peopled by Gog and Magog, two other branches of Japhet's offspring; and as there is such a great affinity between those two mother-tongues, we mean the Hebrew and Gomerian, or ancient Celtic, it is not to be wondered if we find the same resemblance diffusing itself through all their derivatives; such as the High and Low Dutch, the Latin and Greek, the Arabic, Persian, &c. and particularly between the Greek, Roman, and old Celtic.

We have been the more particular on this subject, because several learned men have maintained, that the Gauls commonly used the Greek tongue*. Nothing can be more contrary to all that we find in ancient authors concerning the Gaulish language, than such an assertion, which may be easily overthrown by one or two express passages in Julius Cæsar. One is, that in a conference which he had with Divitiacus, an Æduan or Gaulish lord, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter; and yet Cæsar was a perfect

The notion of their speaking Greek excluded.

* Vide Edwards's Specimen. Elvud's Germania. Pearson, Antiq. Nat. Celt. Hickey's Thesaur. Mona Antiqua, p. 278, & seq.
† Vide Hototman. Franco-Gallia, cap. 2.

master of the Greek. The other, which is still more express, is, that when that conqueror found himself under a necessity to write to Quintus Cicero, who was then besieged in his camp, he used the Greek tongue, lest his letter should fall into the hands of some of the Gauls, and discover his designs; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of their nation. Strabo indeed tells us, that the Massilians cultivated all sorts of polite literature, and particularly the Greek, to such a degree, that the rest of the Gauls were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, insomuch that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it*: but then it is plain, first, that he only speaks of those Gauls who were neighbours to Marseilles, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited several learned men from that famous city to instruct their youth, or sent their children to be educated there; secondly, if the rest of the Gauls afterwards followed their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own; and, thirdly, that this custom of learning and using the Greek tongue did not begin till Strabo's time.

*The genius
of their
style, and
language.*

Before we discuss this article on the Gaulish language, it will not be improper to make a remark on its pretended rudeness and harshness, against which both Greek and Roman authors have raised such an universal outcry. According to them, it was sufficient to hear a Celtæ or Gaul speak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greatest part of their words, especially of their proper names, of men, women, towns, and rivers, were so very harsh, that they could not be pronounced by strangers, or written in other languages without great difficulty; neither could they be inserted in a poem, without injuring the verse*. The emperor Julian says, that it resembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of some wild beast. There must be great exaggerations in these expressions, considering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears to those who are unaccustomed to, or ignorant of it. It is not to be questioned but even the French and Italian, emasculated as they have been of late, appear so at first hearing: it should, however, be acknowledged, that with respect to the German there is less of the hyperbole; and perhaps the ancient Gaulish might originally have a great deal of that kind of harshness, which natural and some other hard consonants will naturally cause, unless softened by the interposition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly

to refute this censure; but would rather observe, that there is a vast difference between those two languages in this respect; and that the true Celtic, or North Welsh, though seemingly crowded with a number of consonants, has yet a peculiar sweetness, and is much more adapted for music and poetry, than we are ready generally to allow.

The Gauls had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in process of time, the Greek letters; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not adopt them till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to this expedient; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obstacle to it, and their druids or bards, whose interest it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this prejudice against committing any thing of consequence to writing^b: and even after they began to introduce the use of letters, in their contracts and other civil concerns, the druids never suffered them to commit any thing relating to their history, laws, and much less to their religion, to writing^c. Hence Origen might well tell his antagonist, that he never heard of any of their writings; and hence that scarcity of materials we experience in relation to their history, since they had no records but those songs and verses, which they carefully kept from strangers; and perished, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or at least with their old heathenish religion. It were to be wished, that the Christian priests and monks had not imitated so closely this druidical policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monasteries, especially in Gaul and Germany; for they seem so effectually to have cultivated this prejudice against it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourse to them whenever any will, grant, or public act was to be executed; and then both the persons concerned in it, and the witnesses, set their own marks, and the scrivener their names to the instrument: but with respect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of absolute necessity to make use of writing, the Greek character appears to have been that which was in use among them, according to Cæsar, Strabo, and Pliny; and was brought into practice from Marseilles, which was a colony of the Greeks, or Gallo-Greeks.

Their writing and characters.

Merchants, &c. used the Greek character.

Since their poetry is altogether lost, we can say little of it: yet it will not be amiss to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern historian^d, who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expresses it, the prevailing

The probable origin of their poetry.

^b Cæsar, *Comment. lib. vi. cap. 14.* ^c Strab. *lib. iv.* ^d Peltou-
tier. *Hist. Celt. lib. ii. cap. 10.*

*Their ex-
treme fond-
ness for it.*

ignorance, and want of letters, gave birth to those poetical compositions in Europe. This was, indeed, the most effectual method to preserve the memory of such momentous truths and facts as they either could not, or cared not to commit to writing, and which, by these means, were not only easily learned and remembered, but, likewise, concealed from other nations. And such attachment did both Gauls and Germans conceive for this kind of performances, especially as they were set to proper tunes, they relished nothing else, and shewed a natural contempt for those of the profane sort. And this humour still prevailed so strongly, even as low as the ninth century, that when Lewis the Debonnaire undertook to have the Saxons instructed in the holy Scriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into verse*. The same method was followed by Ottofridus, with respect to the four gospels, which he caused to be translated into German verse: for as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they consented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verse, and set to music for them, that they might sing them on proper occasions. Some such compositions Charles the Great is said to have found among them, which were very ancient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their ancient kings, which he caused, likewise, to be transcribed, for the same purpose†.

*Eloquence
much es-
teemed in
Gaul.*

As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, eloquence was that wherein they prided themselves most, and which, indeed, was most natural to them. They received, from their infancy, most of their instructions from those poems which were composed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occasions, either recited, or sung; and as the greatest part were of the heroic kind, they accustomed them to a pompous and inflated style. We have seen, that they represented Mercury, the god of eloquence, with the symbols of Hercules, to shew what great power that art had over them, above all others. Cato the censor relates, that the Gauls made this eloquence, and exercise of arms, their chief study.

Commerce.

We have already remarked, from the great regard they paid to the god Mercury, as he was the god of traffick, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is likewise proved, from a great number of ancient inscriptions; and, particularly, a famous monument erected by

* Vide Du Chesne's *Francar. rom. li. ap. Bellouner. ubi supra.*
† Hildard. in *Va. Gard. Magn. cap. 14.*

the Parisian merchants, and dedicated to Jupiter the Good. The reader will see it in the note (A).

The whole country was divided into three estates; 1. The druids, with their dependents the bards; 2. The nobles; and, 3. The mercantile part, which was, by far, the most considerable. The two former derived their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the spoils of war; and were so opulent, that riches seemed to flow upon them on all sides; so that their chief business, especially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and sciences, as the best means to preserve, if not to encrease, their opulence. What appears most surprising, if what an ancient author writes may be depended upon, is, that some of the Gaulish nations interdicted the use of gold and silver, which was all dedicated to Mars; and so rendered sacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin but that which was made of copper and brass^a; but it is too likely, that this contempt of these valuable metals vanished, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially upon their being subject to the Romans; who made no scruple to rifle those treasures^b, which, before that time, lay exposed to the public eye untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into slavery with it, as Herodian reports them, and especially Severus, to have done by the German nation.

*Hunting,
and other
exercises.*

The Gauls, as well as all the other northern people, were much addicted to hunting; and, indeed, considering the extensive forests with which the country abounded, and which bred great multitudes of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, boars, and foxes (B), if they had not made it their business

^a Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 5.

^b Sueton. in Cæsar.

(A) The inscription runs thus: *TIB. CAESARE AVO. IOVI OPTVM. MAXVM. M. NAVTAE PARIACI POSVERVNT.*

(B) Cæsar (2), Pliny, and other authors (3), mention several other wild beasts which used to be hunted by the Gauls, of which we know nothing now but the names; and some of them, by the description there given, seem to have been of a very strange kind, if there ever were any such in being; such are the alces, the bonassus, the

wild ass, &c. The alces, according to Cæsar, had no joints, in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree. The same animal is mentioned by Pliny and Solinus, without that particularity. The bonassus, according to some authors (4), had an horse's face, and the rest resembled a bull, its horns bending so far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the same wonders they relate of some of their birds, one sort of which diffused such

(1) Comm. lib. vi.

(2) Nat. Hist. lib. viii. Pausan. in Boet.

(3) Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. ix. cap. 45. Plin. lib. supra.

Various
kinds of
game.

Hunting
feast to
Diana.

business to hunt and destroy, they must, in time, have been over-run with them: but, besides these, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmless animals: they made, likewise, fowling a diversion, and were so dextrous at it, that they killed birds flying, with a dart¹ thrown by hand; though they are likewise said to have used the sling, and the bow and arrow, and had a way of poisoning their darts and arrows with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *linoum*, or *limeum*², which some have taken for hellebore³, and others for nightshade. Strabo says, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whose fruit, he had somewhere read, resembled the Corinthian chapter. The wound never failed to kill the creature, and make its flesh more sweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The professed hunters held a feast every year to Diana, and, among other offerings, each presented her with a purse, in which was a certain sum for every beast they had taken during that year; such as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and so proportionally for the rest. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a sumptuous entertainment⁴.

¹ Strabo, lib. iv. ² Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. xvii. cap. 25. Plin. ubi supra, lib. xxv. cap. 5. Geogr. lib. iv. ³ Arrian. de Venat. ⁴ Ephor. ap. Strabo, lib. iv. Damascen. ap. Steb. form. xxxvii.

a vivid light from their feathers (5), that travellers used them to explore their way in the darkest night: but enough of these fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, Cæsar says (6), was a little less than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or sledge (7); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; besides badgers, otters, and others, not worth mentioning.

For hunting all these kind of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the sport, and generally hunted on horseback, unless it were some of those creatures, which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to chase on foot. So fond were they of their hounds, that the ancient Burgundian laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of stealing one of them, to pay five shillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treasury; and, if insolvent, he was obliged to kiss the dog's posterior (8).

(5) Solin. Polyth. cap. 31. Vide & Strabo, lib. iv. (6) Cæsar. lib. iv. cap. 28. (7) Martial. Epigr. lib. i. (8) Paul. Diacon. Hist. Longobard. (8) Vide Pelloutier, ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 12.

They

They were likewise addicted to other exercises, of the manly kind. We have often observed, what excellent horsemen and charioteers they are said to have been, above all other nations in Europe, which skill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly we find they had their hippodromes, horse and chariot-races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards assisted, and, with their poems and songs, in which they celebrated the praises of those who had formerly won the prize, inspired the new candidates with a noble ardour to signalize themselves. All their exercises in general tended to render them lighter, stronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their bellies within the compass of a girdle of a certain size, either by fasting, running, riding, swimming, or any other laborious diversion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a disgrace, but they were likewise fined for their corpulency^a. Swimming was also an excellent expedient, not only to strengthen their bodies, but to fit them for passing the widest and rapideſt rivers; in which they were so very expert, that they could cross the Rhine, Danube, and Rhone, without breaking their ranks^b.

*Warlike
and other
exercises.*

These may be esteemed as some of the laudable and beneficial diversions; but they had a predominant pleasure, which can scarcely be ranked in that class, and yet seemed generally to accompany all the other public sports, or, rather, the others served only to introduce this; we mean their feasting, in which they were generally very profuse, though very negligent in order and decorum^c. All their public assemblies and exercises, their feasts, birth-days, weddings, burials, and anniversaries, were always accompanied with such sumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good cheer both vocal and instrumental music. The nobles especially were most attached to them, because their greatness and interest consisting chiefly in the number of their clients, vassals, and folduri, there was not a more effectual way, either to secure the old, or procure new adherents, than such kind of entertainments; for the Gauls, as well as the Germans, and other northern nations, were such excessive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than these kind of

*Feasting,
frequent
and sumptuous.*

^a Cæsar, ubi supra. Mela de Sit. Orb. lib. iii. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxv. & al. ^b Tacit. Germ. cap. 14, & seq. ^c Vide Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. vii. Athen. ubi supra. Plut. Sympoſ. vii. cap. 9. Varro, & al.

*A description
of
them.*

*Accompa-
nied with
hard
drinking ;*

feasts (C). To these feasts, those who were most celebrated for valour and wisdom were always reckoned the chief guests, because their example bore the greatest sway in all such elections. The reader may not be displeased, perhaps, to see a short description of these feasts of the ancient Gauls, out of Posidonius, who had himself been in that country : we shall give it in the note (D). It was likewise customary to drink freely at these feasts. The coryphee, or head-guest, always began first to put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round : for, it

(C) We read of the famed Lucernius king of the Auverni-ans, and father of Bituitus, who was afterwards defeated by Fabius Maximus, that he made an inclosure of twelve furlongs square, in which he entertained all comers, during several days, with all manner of exquisite meats and liquors (1) : and of Ariamnes, who caused lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred persons, and treated them in the same sumptuous manner a whole year (2). Neither suffered they any strangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of these feasts, or were travelling that way, to pass without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take share of them ; and, if their time could not permit them to stay, they at least obliged them to drink.

(D) According to him, their tables were very low ; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and easy to break into pieces ; but devoured a great deal of beef, bottled, roasted, and broiled ; which they did in a very florid manner, washing the piece in their

hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feast, who was either one of the richest, or noblest, or bravest, sat in the middle, with the master of the house on his side : the rest took their places next, each according to his rank, having their servants behind them, holding their shields. The guards had their table opposite them ; and, after their masters had done, the servant were likewise regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a dish, till the coryphee had tasted of it.

Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls used to eat sitting upon the ground, which was covered with skins of wolves and dogs ; and the dishes were brought by the children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a stove, or fire place, which abounded with spits, pots, pans, and other kitchen furniture (3).

(1) *Thes. de l'Empire*, cap. 22.
cap. 12.

(2) *Ibidem* *ibid.* cap. 11.

(3) *Posidon. ap. Athen. lib. 17.*
Diod. Sicul. lib. 5.

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seems, they all drank out of the same vessel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuse when it did. The misfortune was, that at these feasts they used to begin to talk of public affairs as soon as the cups went round; and as they generally sat at them till next morning, they so heated themselves with liquor and wrangling, that they seldom ended without duels. If the feast proved peaceable, it was generally accompanied, not only with music and songs, but with dances likewise, in which the dancers were completely armed, and beat measure with their swords upon their shields. On certain festivals, likewise, such as that of Mithras, they dressed themselves in the skins of such beasts as were dedicated to him, and accompanied the processions that were made on that day: others assumed masquerade-habits, some of them very indecent, and played antic and immodest tricks; and this custom was retained so long among them, even after their conversion to Christianity, that some of their councils and bishops not only censured and condemned them, but appointed fasts, and proper prayers, to be used on those days¹, to divert them from that heathenish custom.

*Sometimes
with
fighting,
music,
dancing,
&c.
Masque-
rades.*

Their chief liquors were beer and wine, the former the more common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. Strabo observes, of the Lusitanians, that one such feast as those we have described, used to exhaust all the vintage of that year²; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the Germans, and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inspired them originally with such contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at first, to their wives, old men, and slaves. The Germans and Gauls are justly blamed for it by the Romans, and a great instance of pride and folly it was, to choose purchasing the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by their own industry³ (E).

*Strong li-
quors.*

*Contempt
of agricul-
ture, &c.*

We

¹ Relig. des Gaul. lib. ii. cap. 34. & seq.
² Tacit. German. cap. 24. & 23.

³ Strab. lib. iii.

(E) The same may, indeed, be said of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as below the care of a warlike nation; but it may be observed, in general, that when the Romans came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure

those things by their labour, which they were formerly used to get, either by the sword, or by commerce: necessity soon made them feel the advantage of encouraging agriculture, and all kinds of manufactures; and by degrees, likewise, of the liberal arts and sciences; in both which

*Their
vices.**Drunken-
ness.*

We shall conclude this section with a short review of the other vices and virtues by which the ancient Gauls were distinguished. Their vices are reducible to these three, which are attributed to them by the generality of ancient writers; namely, drunkenness, laziness, and ferocity. As for drunkenness, we cannot see why that vice should be reckoned more peculiar to them than to their neighbours the Germans. Besides these, Plato has preserved a list of other people who were equally guilty of it; the Lydians, Persians, Carthaginians, Thracians, Scythians, and Spaniards* (F). However, though this abuse has been in some degree exaggerated, yet we own that there must have been some foundation for it, since Charles the Great was forced to make some severe laws against it; one of which obliged the

* *Alat. de Leg. lib. i. Vide & Athen. lib. x. Clem. Alex. Præd. lib. ii.*

which branches they became, in time, as expert as any other nation. So that we may safely look upon their conquest by the Romans to have given rise to their improvements in the arts of social life.

(F) The truth is, the Gauls were more envied for their bravery, both by the Greeks and Romans, and were therefore oftner made the subject of their reflections. Accordingly Livy and Plutarch (1) pretend to have it from ancient authors, that those Gauls who lived near the Alps, having once tasted the Italian wine, became so enamoured with it, that they immediately resolved to conquer that country. And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that they were so fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, sharia, one of their slaves, for a gallon of wine (2); which made the merchants very ready to furnish such customers with that beloved commodity, both

from Greece and Italy. It is likewise pretended, that they were more than ordinarily greedy of it, because it made them fight more courageously, or rather furiously, and more apt to despise all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet nothing is plainer than that, if those authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the Gauls could not encounter a worse enemy than wine proved to them upon all occasions, since, according to them, it seldom failed throwing whole armies into disorder and confusion; and, which is still worse, by tempting them with large quantities of that liquor, it so overcame them, that they were exposed, naked and defenceless, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, they quarrelled with each other, and became an easier prey to their enemies (3).

(1) *Hist. lib. x. Plat. in Camil. Justin. ex Trag. lib. xxiv. cap. 7. & seq.*
Liv. ubi supra, &c.

(2) *Lib. v.*

(3) *Vide*

Appian. Celt. Plutarch.

judges on the bench, and the pleaders, to continue fasting; another imported, that no man should be forced to drink more than he chose; a third forbade the soldiers, whilst in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink, under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been sufficiently punished for their fault*. This vice, it seems, was so universal, that even the Mysians, a kind of monkish tribe among the Scythians, who were obliged to abstain from flesh, wine, and strong liquors, and the * Scythians and Thracians, who were destitute of them, had yet a method of intoxicating themselves by the smoke of some odoriferous weeds, something, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them chearful and merry, though without being attended with the ill effects which are commonly caused by excess of wine*.

The laziness imputed likewise to them, appears to have been rather owing to their pride than to any dislike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is evident that in their exercises, as well as their wars, they accustomed themselves to hardships and fatigues of any kind; so that if they neglected agriculture and handicraft trades, it was rather because they considered them as a kind of slavery unbecoming their martial genius. It was upon this account that they so readily rushed upon desperate death, to avoid being taken prisoners, especially by the Romans, who they knew were wont to make slaves of them, and condemn them to the hardest and meanest employments.

As to their last vice, their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the less occasion to wonder at it, if we consider that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death; for how can it be expected that they should be tender of other peoples lives, who were so careless, and even lavish of their own? And if slavery appeared so terrible to them that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy to massacre their prisoners of war, or sacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make slaves of them? But we observed before, that this excessive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other nations, especially upon the Romans, not only with a jealous eye, but with an invincible hatred, as they observed them so diligent and successful in enslaving all they could subdue. And this consideration might not add a little to their native fierceness, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat such

* Vide *adit. Carol. Mag. ad Leg. Salic. an. 803. & Pelloutier. ubi supra. lib. ii. cap. ult.* * Herodot. lib. i. Meli, lib. ii. Plut. de Mar. Max. Tyr. lib. xi. Salin. cap. 13. * Pofidon. ap. Strab. lib. vii. Vide & Euxaubon. in loc. & Pelloutier. ubi supra.

open invaders of public liberty, as well as those who basely assisted them in it. This will appear still more probable if we examine some of those social virtues for which they were remarkable, even by the confession of their enemies, such as their hospitality, frugality, justice, and fidelity.

Their virtues and hospitality:

It will doubtless be thought strange, that a nation, so cruel to their enemies, and so fierce among themselves as to have recourse to single combat upon every trifling affront, should yet be so celebrated for their hospitality and humanity, not only to strangers, but to such as took refuge among them; and yet they are highly commended for this admirable virtue both by Greek and Roman authors. It was a constant custom among them to invite strangers to all their feasts, and after the entertainment was over, to enquire who they were, and wherein they might be served^r. The same humanity was practised by the Celtiberians, who were regarded as some of the cruelest among the Gauls, inasmuch that they came in crowds to invite a traveller to their houses, and happy was he thought whom he chose for his host: if he pitched upon one whose circumstances would not permit him to afford a sumptuous entertainment, he always took care to introduce him to another more wealthy. If any Gaul was convicted of having refused this courtesy to a stranger, he was not only beheld with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magistrate; witness that law enacted among the Burgundians, which laid a fine of three crowns on all such inhospitable delinquents; and one of double that sum on any Burgundian that should direct a stranger to the house of a Roman. In some other places they added a corporal punishment to the fine; and Tacitus does that justice even to the German nation, as to give several instances of their tender regard to strangers^s. Cæsar adds, that they esteemed all such persons as sacred and inviolable, to whom every house was to be opened, and every table free^t. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and punished upon the spot those from whom they had received any damage or ill treatment^u (G).

and sumptuous way of entertaining strangers.

Law against the inhospitable.

We

^r Diod. Sic. lib. v. ment. lib. vi. Serim. clix.

^s German. cap. 22. ^t Aristot. de Mir. And. N. Damasc. ap. Stob.

^u Cæsar. Com.

(G) They even punished the murder of a stranger more severely than that of one of their own nation; namely, the former by death, and the latter by banishment. As for those who

took refuge amongst the Gauls, they were sure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence the great number of distressed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither.

We have no less convincing proofs of their justice and fidelity, witness the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendship, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewise in choosing them for their life-guards. And if they could be thus faithful to such of the Roman emperors, as Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Claudius, we need not doubt of their being so to other nations, to whose service they had not such a natural reluctance; though it must be owned that the Germans gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in those monarchs than the Gauls had done, and perhaps on this very account, that they did not shew such a natural aversion to the Roman yoke as the Gauls did, who took all opportunities that offered to shake it off; but before the time of Augustus we find the Gauls and Spaniards in great credit and trust with Juba, king of Mauritania^c, with Herod king of Judæa^d, with Cleopatra, and with most princes in every different part of the known world. At the same time it must be allowed, if any credit is to be given to the most respectable authors of antiquity, the Gauls were notorious for insincerity and the violation of treaties.

Their clothing was a kind of vest and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, had collars about their necks, and bracelets about their wrists, and above their el-

^c Cæf. Comm. lib. ii. cap. 40.

^d Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 21.

thither preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence.

Torifin, king of the Gepidæ, had a noble refugee at his court, named Ildisgus, who had a lawful right to the crown of Lombardy, but had been excluded after the death of king Vaces, by Aduin, who seized upon it. This last caused Ildisgus to be demanded of the Gepidæ, and procured his demand to be supported by the emperor Justinian's ambassadors. Torifin, who had just concluded a peace with the Romans and Lombards, called a council of

all his nobles, and acquainted them with Aduin's request, and the danger he was in if he refused. Upon this the assembly unanimously agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children should perish, than to give way to such a sacrilegious demand (1).

Even among the ruder Sclavonians, who lived on the other side the Elbe, it was permitted to set any man's house on fire, who refused sanctuary to a stranger; and in such cases every one strove to punish the violation of hospitality (2).

(1) Procop. Hist. Goth. lib. iii. cap. xxxv. lib. iv. cap. 17.

(2) Helmond. Chron. Slavon. cap. 82. Pelloutier. lib. ii. cap. 16.

Marriages.

Funerals.

bows. Those who were raised to dignities, had them of gold, the rest of brass. The druids were always clothed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occasions, appeared with their arms. We know little of their marriages, except that they did not allow polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives. That they burned the dead bodies, is evident from those urns which contained their bones and ashes, with some trinkets which they enclosed with them, of more or less value, according to the condition of the deceased; but that they likewise buried without burning, may be also gathered from those entire bodies which have been found in many places in Gaul, Germany, and especially in the mounds of Salisbury Plain, of which we shall give a fuller account in a subsequent chapter: for as the Gauls received their religious laws and customs from the British druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in these institutions in both countries.

S E C T. V.

The History of the ancient Gauls, from the Roman Invasion, and their Conquest by Julius Caesar, to the Irruption of the Franks.

A summary of the Gaulish history.

Their first conquests sending of colonies abroad.

WE shall have the less room to enlarge upon this subject, first, because we have little or no account of this nation before they were visited by the Romans; and, secondly, because what happened from that time to the irruption of the Franks, has been fully discussed in the Roman history. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and short, for the sake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may save our readers the trouble of collecting particulars out of our former volumes, by having recourse to the index, we shall here present them with a summary in one view, in a chronological order. The Gauls, being a strong and hardy people, and increasing so fast, that their country could not contain them, were obliged to make excursions into other countries in such vast multitudes, that they spread terror wherever they moved. It often happened, likewise, that these colonies, thus settled in a foreign land, were so molested by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being dispossessed, they sent into their native country for fresh assistance, and easily obtained it. The Gauls being always ready to pour out their numerous warriors upon all oc-

cations. Hence their vast multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceness, and cruelty to those who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable necessity, upon all such expeditions, either to conquer or starve, added not a little to the terror of their name. We shall pass by those migrations which they anciently made out of Europe into several parts of Asia, where they settled themselves in several fertile countries, and under different names, for which we shall refer our readers to the Celtic history in a former volume.

The earliest and most considerable irruption we have recorded, is that which they made into Italy, under their famous leader Bellovesus (H), who, crossing the Rhone and the Alps, till then unattempted, defeated the Hetrurians, and other opposers, near the Tefino, settled, and spread themselves over that part of Italy called Piedmont and Lombardy, then inhabited by the Hetrurians, about the year of Rome 160.

The Cœnomani, who dwelt between the rivers Seine and Loire, made the second grand expedition, under their general Elitonis, and settled in the Bresciano, Cremonese, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venetian. The time of this expedition and the next is uncertain.

The third was made by the Læves and Ananes, the former of whom settled in Novara, on one side of the Po; and the latter in Piacentia, on the opposite bank.

In a fourth, the Boii and Lingones, having passed the Pennine Alps, settled on the south side of the Po, between Ravenna and Bologna.

In the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of Bellovesus, the Senones, seated between Paris and Meaux, were invited into Italy by an Hetrurian lord, and fixed themselves in Umbria. Brennus, who was their

Yr. of Fl.
1726.
Ante Chr.
623.

Gauls under
Bellovesus settle
in Nether
Italy.

(H) Ambigatus, then king of Celtogallia, finding his kingdom overstocked, sent his two nephews, Bellovesus and Segovesus, each at the head of a numerous army, to seek some new settlements. The first crossed the Alps, and the latter the Rhine and Hercynian forest, and settled in that part of Germany since called Boiemia, and Bohemia, from the Boii, who

accompanied him in that expedition. Hence, however, it plainly appears, that it was their great increase that obliged the Gauls to send such numerous colonies abroad; and not, as Livy (1), Pliny (2), Plutarch (3), and other writers, have misrepresented it, their thirst after the Italian wine, that invited them to cross the Alps.

(1) Lib. v. cap. 33.
tom. ii. p. 114.

(2) Lib. xii. cap. 2.

(3) De Vir. Illust.

*Brennus
enters and
plunders
Rome.*

king, had laid siege to Clusium. We have seen, in a late volume, that the treachery of the Fabii, in entering and defending that city, and the conduct of the Romans, in countenancing instead of punishing this outrage, so exasperated the Gaulish general, that, raising the siege of the place, he immediately turned all his force against the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to Rome, whose inhabitants were struck with such terror at his approach, that they abandoned the city to his mercy. When Brennus entered the place, which appeared to him like a desert, he secured all the avenues round the Capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his army, who presently after reduced it to ashes, and turned all its stately temples and palaces into a heap of rubbish. We shall not repeat the particulars of this expedition; but refer our reader to the account which we have given in the Roman history, where he will find at length the whole Gaulish army cut off by the brave Camillus.

*An unfor-
tunate ex-
pedition.*

The next expedition was still more unfortunate; for the Gauls, who had settled themselves in those parts of Italy we have lately mentioned, led but an uneasy life there, being continually harassed by the Romans. They sent into Gaul for fresh reinforcements; but these arrived in such prodigious numbers to their assistance, that they became more dreadful than the Romans: so that they made no scruple to turn their arms against them, and having killed their two leaders, easily put the whole army to flight. The Romans, however, were in great dread of them, when they found how active they were in Italy, and what great armies they could draw out of Gaul; and it was to dissipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of superstition at Rome, which we formerly censured, of burying a Greek and a Gaulish man and woman alive in the ox-market: but they did not trust to this sacrifice so far as not to make preparations, when they heard that the Gætæ, another brave Gaulish nation, were invited, by their Italian countrymen, to their assistance. These were of a fiercer nature than any of the rest; they scorned all kind of defensive armour, as mean and cowardly, and generally fought naked. Had their martial skill been as great as their courage, it is likely they might, at that juncture, have disabled the Romans from ever conquering any more nations; for their approach had spread such terror throughout the Roman territories, that they raised one of the most numerous armies that ever had been known amongst them. If we may believe Polybius[†], it consisted of eight hundred thousand men, horse

*The Ro-
mans raise
a prodigi-
ous army.*

[†] Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 22.

and foot. The Gauls, however, though they had but fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military discipline as they were in number, they suffered a total defeat; forty thousand were killed on the spot, and ten thousand taken prisoners, and amongst them Concolitanus, one of their kings; whilst the other, named Aneroeftus, and by far the most experienced commander, only escaped to a neighbouring village, and there dispatched himself, as did most of the officers who followed him, according to the Gaulish maxim, of preferring death to slavery.

The Gauls defeated.

Notwithstanding these successes, the Romans dreaded that the Gauls would at length be made sensible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial discipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become in time as disciplined soldiers as they (I); in which case they could not fail to become a very formidable enemy to their nation, considering their hatred to it, their hardiness, intrepidity, and readiness to join every foe against them. The assistance they gave Hannibal, as he was crossing their country, and over the Alps, of which we have given an account elsewhere; and after him to Mago, and the Carthaginians; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of them at war with Rome, and among which they were sure to perfect themselves still more in the martial trade, whilst they themselves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifest danger; these considerations obliged them at last to retaliate upon them, and invade their country upon the first favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war: but before we speak of this invasion, it will be necessary to say something of their expeditions and exploits in Asia, Macedonia, and other countries.

The Romans in great fear of the Gauls.

(I) We are told (1), that their weapons, especially their swords, were so wretchedly tempered, that upon the very first onset, in which they constantly charged with incredible fury, they used either to break, bend, or be so blunted against the Roman javelins, as to become useless; so that, before they could have time to sharpen or straiten them, the enemy closed in upon them, and throwing by the javelin, and shortening their swords, stabbed them, like so many sheep.

(1) Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Marcell. Oros. & al.

of Fl.

2069.

Ante Chr.

279.

A threefold

invasion of

the Gauls.

Brennus

enters

Hungary.

Brennus's

ill success.

Sends for

fresh forces

from Gaul.

Success in

Macedonia.

Marches

towards

Delphi.

The first of this kind happened in the year after Pyrrhus passed into Italy*, when the Gauls, finding themselves again overstocked at home, sent out three vast colonies to seek new habitations. Brennus (perhaps a descendent of him who had about two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into Italy) was the chief adviser of this expedition, and headed one of the Gaulish armies; Cerethrius commanded the second, and marched into Thrace; and the third, under the command of Belgius, marched into Illyricum and Macedonia: Brennus entered Pannonia, or Hungary, a poor country in comparison to those which Belgius had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himself with immense plunder; so that envying his success, he resolved to join him, and share it with him. Belgius having soon after suffered such a terrible defeat, that we hear no more of him, or his men, he hastened thither, under pretence of revenging and assisting him; and it is not improbable that the remainder of Belgius's army lifted themselves under his banner. The army with which he entered those two provinces, consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; but a revolt happened, in which Leonorius and Lutarius, the two chief leaders, carried off twenty thousand men, and marched into Thrace, and joining themselves to Cerethrius, seized on Byzantium, and the western coasts of Propontis, where they settled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

To retrieve this loss, Brennus sent for fresh supplies from Gallia, enlisted some Illyrians, and with a new army of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and above sixty thousand horse, entered Macedonia, defeated Sosthenes, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the straits of Thermopylae, with an intent to invade Greece; but was stopped by the forces which were sent to defend that pass. This check obliged him to procure some guides to conduct him over those mountains, which Xerxes had passed before; upon which the guards retired, to avoid being surrounded. He then ordered Acichorius to follow him at a distance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched towards Delphi, with a design to plunder that rich city and temple; but suffered a terrible repulse, from a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: so that the remainder, being seized with a furious panic,

* Pol. lib. 1. cap. 6. Vide Paul. Phoc. Justin. lib. xiii. & seq. fell

fell upon, and massacred each other during the whole night. Next morning they found their mistake; they saw one half of their army destroyed, the Greek forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in such numbers, that though Acichorius joined him in due time, yet were they not able to oppose the Greeks, but were defeated, with horrible slaughter. Brennus himself was desperately wounded, and so dispirited at his miscarriage, that he assembled all his chiefs, and having advised them to slay all that were wounded and disabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his own life. Acichorius endeavoured to retreat with the remainder of the shattered army; but their long marches through enemies countries, the toils and hardships they endured, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, it seems so entirely exhausted them, that not one returned from that expedition ^h (K).

Their dreadful defeat, and end.

Brennus's last advice, and death.

The whole army perishes.

Whilst

^h Idem. *ibid.* Vide & Memnon. Excerpt. ap. Phoc. cap. 19, &c. Eclog. Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. Liv. lib. xxxviii. Callimach. Hymn. in Delum. Suid. in Voc. γαλαται.

(K) Cicero brings a virulent charge against the Gauls, and their religion, founded chiefly on their plundering the Delphic temple, and their besieging the Capitol, and as he adds (to aggravate it the more), the great Jupiter in it; from which he infers, that their religion consisted in a diametrical opposition to all others, and in waging war against the gods of other nations, &c. and that the Gauls were a most irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people.

Now, if it be true, that the Gauls, before their conquest, did worship the one Supreme Being, and, like the Perses, Brachmans, and other ancient nations and philosophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or represent him by idols of any kind, then will their destroying those temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treasures, if they had really done so by

this of Delphi, be justified, and rather deserve commendation, than such a censure. The plunder of such superstitious treasures, to men of these principles, and for the support of a numerous army, will be justly deemed applying them to a better use.

It plainly appears, from the majority of the authors quoted, that they did not plunder the Delphic oracle; but that they were deterred from it by a storm and earthquake, which threw them into such a panic, as made them be easily overcome by those Greek forces which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle against them; upon this it is supposed, that all these disasters befel them as a just judgment for their sacrilegious design against that temple and treasure: this last is at best but a surmise, founded on a wrong, though common notion, that such disasters

Another colony invaded the Hellespont.

Some settled in Galatia.

Whilst these events happened in Greece, the colonies under Leonorius, parting from the others who were settled in the Propontis, marched into the Hellespont, and subdued Lyfimachia, and the Thracian Chersonesus. Here ~~some~~ great misunderstanding happening between those two chiefs, they divided their forces; the former returned to Byzantium, and the latter remained where he was. However, they rejoined their forces some time after, and passed into Asia, invited thither by Nicomedes, whom they assisted against his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgement of which service, he assigned them that part of Lesser Asia which we described at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called Gallo-Græcia, and Galatia. Thither also repaired a great number of those other Gauls who had settled in Thrace, and who were driven from thence by Antigonus Gonatus, who had seized the kingdom of Macedon upon the death of Sosthenes. A greater number dispersed themselves in other countries, and either perished, or so intermingled themselves, as not to be distinguished any more; so that of this formidable Gaulish army, none remained but those who settled in Galatia. These, likewise, in time, increasing in number, and being confined in their territories, endeavoured, according to custom, to enlarge them where they could, and to send colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (L), which greatly

asters always argued some atrocious crimes in the sufferers: all which is here pretended, by authors who were professed enemies to the Gaulish nation, and have, doubtless, exaggerated both at their pleasure, though without any real foundation.

Justin and after him Cicero, indeed, accuse them of having plundered the Delphic treasure; and the last adds, that they also carried it home; but, being grievously plagued for their sacrilege, they were advised to throw their plunder into the lake of Thoulouse. This, though plainly opposite to all those authors, who have written of that expedition, seems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given

of it, in order to bring a scandal on that great treasure which was consecrated and deposited in that lake, and which Strabo and Athenæus, on the authority of Posidonius, tell us, was (so far from being fetched from Delphi) dug out of some rich mines in that neighbourhood. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with justice, against the Gauls, it was their sending such powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither Greeks nor Romans could have any pretence to object to what was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

(L) Justin tells us, that all Asia swarmed with them; and that there was hardly an eastern prince

greatly annoyed and alarmed all their neighbours; but they were at length suppressed by the proconsul of Asia, Corn. Manlius Vulso, which gave them several defeats, and obliged them to live peaceably, and keep within their old limits¹.

They are, however, affirmed by some authors to have been vanquished about fifty-three years before, by Attalus king of Pergamos²: if so, they must have found out some means of recovering their liberty, to have been so powerful in Manlius's time; unless we suppose these authors to have confounded the Gauls with the Galatians. However that be, these last were still, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom, named Deiotarus, was, for his services to Pompey the Great, created king (M), and had the Lesser Armenia, and some other territories, added to his own¹. So much for the Gaulish expeditions abroad. It is now time to return to those at home, and to give an account of their conquest by the Romans.

We hinted a little higher, that the Romans were grown so fearful of the Gauls, that they thought it politic, in order to humble them, to lead armies into their country.

Yr. of Fl.
2160.
Ante Chr.
188.

subdues
part of
Gaul.

¹ Livy, lib. xxxvii.
¹ Eutrop. lib. vi.

² Strab. lib. xiii. Suid. Polyæn. &c.

prince at war, that did not hire them as mercenaries (§). This was, in particular, the case of Antiochus Hierax, in his war against Seleucus, whom he defeated at Ancyra (2) by the help of the Gaulish auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have cost him dear: for these, having heard a rumour, that Seleucus had been slain, formed, it seems, a project to murder him, and seize upon his kingdom; so that he found no better way of saving himself, than by giving them all the treasure he possessed (3).

The scene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed into Mesopotamia, it is not impro-

bable, that the battle of Babylonia happened between the Babylonish Jews and the Gauls, in which eight thousand of the former defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thousand of the latter (4): for Babylon was then a province of Mesopotamia, and Antiochus then in confederacy with the numerous Gauls.

(M) This is the same Deiotarus that soon after dispossessed the other three tetrarchs, and seized upon all Galatia. For this he was summoned before Julius Cæsar, upon which occasion Cicero made a speech in his behalf, which is still extant, under the name of Oratio pro rege Deiotaro.

(1) Lib. xxv. cap. 2.
lib. xxvii. cap. 2.
ubi supra. Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 19.

(2) Idem ibid.

(3) Idem, lib. xxvii. cap. 2. (4) 2 Maccab. viii. 20. Vide & Justin,

After many attempts, not worth recording, the person that opened the most effectual way into Gaul was the great consul Q. Marcius, surnamed Rex, to whose lot this province was fallen, as well as the supreme power, by the death of his colleague in Numidia. Marcius, the better to carry on his design, opened a way between the Alps and the Pyrenees, a work of immense labour, in which he was firmly opposed by the Gauls, especially the Stæni, who lived at the foot of the Alps^m; and who, finding themselves overpowered, set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and threw them and themselves into the flames. Marcius, having accomplished his work, planted a colony, for greater security, in the country of the Volcæ Tectolagi, between the Pyrenees and the city of Thoulouse; and built a city called Narbo Marcius, since Narbonne, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of such a considerable part of Gaul, and the opening and securing a way between the Alps and Pyrenees, as laid the foundation for the conquest of the whole country, was thought so important a service to Rome, that the senate ordered him a triumphⁿ. His successor, Scæurus, not only conquered some other nations of the Gauls, as the Gentisci and Carni (N); but, to facilitate the marching of troops from Italy thither, made some excellent roads between them, which before were almost impassable, and was likewise honoured with a triumph.

The dread
fall end of
the brave
Stæni.

Narbonne
built by
Marcius.

Scæurus's
success in
Gaul.

Mr. of Fl.
2347.
Ante Chr.
101.

The sacred
treasure of
Thoulouse
plundered.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and Teutones, alarmed at these successes, took up arms, and gave them several considerable defeats; in one of which the Tigurini (O), having surprised them, made them, and their general Popilius, pass under the yoke. The Cimbri, in particular, had retaken some parts of Gaul from the Romans, and, especially, the famed city of Thoulouse; upon which Cæpio marching his army to retake it, the inhabitants opened its gates to him; nevertheless, he not only gave it up to be plundered, but carried off all that immense treasure which had been consecrated there by the Gauls, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and the same of silver, according to the most moderate accounts of it; and, in spite of his treachery, avarice, and sacrilege, was continued pro-

^m Steph. de Urb.

ⁿ Fast. Capit. Cic. pro Fonteio.

(N) These inhabited part of Noricum; and the name of the latter is still retained in the province of Carniola.

(O) The two former are only

different names for the Germans, as we shall see in the next chapter. The Tigurini inhabited that part of Switzerland called Zurich.

consul of the Narbonnese Gaul. This vile instance of rapacity so exasperated the Gauls, that they joined with the Cimbri, and, taking the advantage of a misunderstanding between the general and his colleague Manlius, they attacked them so furiously, that they gave them such an overthrow as they had scarcely ever sustained, killed eighty thousand men, besides forty thousand servants and sutlers, in one day: only ten men of their whole army escaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave Sestorius, who saved himself by swimming over the Rhine. The Gauls, who, according to custom on such occasions, had devoted the spoil, threw all the silver and gold into the Rhine, drowned all the horses, and murdered all the prisoners they had taken. What consternation this loss threw the city of Rome into, and what punishment was inflicted on the sacrilegious Cæpio, we have specified in the Roman history. The victorious allies held a general council, whether to march immediately into Italy, or reduce those provinces which the Romans held in Gaul: they agreed, however, to consult the brave Æmilius Scaurus, whom they had taken prisoner in a former action, and who, to favour his country, strove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic; but was, for his hold speech, stabbed to death by Boiorix king of the Cimbri.

*The Gauls
revange
against the
Romans.*

The Roman senate, expecting a fresh irruption of the Gauls and Cimbri, recalled Marius from his successful expedition against Jugurtha; and, having honoured him with a triumph, appointed him general against the enemy, and Sylla to serve under him. They both departed accordingly, and Sylla gained several advantages against the Testofagi, and took Copillus, one of their kings, prisoner, whilst Marius resolved not to engage such a numerous army as appeared against him, till he had received sufficient reinforcements. In the mean time the Marfi, another people of Germany, had joined the Cimbri, with a design to enter Italy, and Sylla was sent to oppose them; but he, instead of engaging, found means to gain the former over to the Roman interest. The Cimbri, enraged at this defection, ceased not to harass the Roman general till they forced him to remove to Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence. In his march he was briskly attacked by the brave Ambrones, now the canton of Bern, to whose valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave Cæpio and his colleague. They fought with the utmost fury and intrepidity, but were deficient in discipline; so that, not being able to withstand the shock of such regular troops as they engaged, so dreadful a slaughter was made, that the next river ran stained

*Romans in
a fresh con-
sternation.*

*Marfi join
the Cimbri
but are
gained by
Sylla.*

*Ambroni-
ans defeat
ed.*

*Valour of
their wo-
men.*

with their blood. Here the Ambronian women, likewise signalized themselves, ran with their axes against the pursuing Romans, and made a vigorous opposition; but being at length overpowered, and offering to surrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied by the enemy (P), they murdered all their children, and themselves; so that not one of them was found alive.

*Sylla gains
the Gauls,
and suffers
them to live
in peace.*

*Scene of
war re-
moved into
Spain.*

*Spartacus
and forty
thousand
Gauls slain.*

After this defeat, the Gauls seem to have been quiet for some time, whether exhausted and dispirited by repeated defeats, or that they left it to the Germans to harass them, as they in fact did, and gave the council much trouble, though to very little effect, they being constantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, soon after, with a more dreadful enemy in Sylla; while Rome was so rent, and in such consternation, on account of those two factions, which we have described in the Roman history, that they rather sought the friendship of the Gauls than their reduction: but Sylla found means by his address, to gain them to his party. Hence it is probable, that he suffered them to live in peace during the whole time of his dictatorship; for we hear nothing relating to them during that period, nor for some space after his death, though the scene of war was now removed into Spain and Portugal by Sertorius, where he had very great success against Pompey, who was sent against him. This war was no sooner terminated, than a new one began in the heart of Italy under Spartacus, who was at the head of an army consisting chiefly of Gaulish slaves, whom he designed, after vanquishing the two consuls, to have led back over the Alps into their own country; but they were soon totally defeated by Crassus, and Spartacus himself slain, after having fought with incredible bravery. Forty thousand Gauls were killed on the spot; the rest fled into Lusitania, where they were soon after cut off by Pompey. Whether the Transalpine Gauls had any share in this rebellion, does not appear. In

(P) These conditions were, that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be sold into slavery; and that they should be employed in the service of the Vestals. These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with the first; but, that being inhu-

manly refused, their love of chastity made them prefer such an honourable death, as could not but cast a more shameful brand on those who styled them Barbarians, and yet used such brave matrons in so inhuman a manner (1).

(1) Vide Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1. Frontin. Stratag. lib. iv. &c.

that famed conspiracy of Cataline they were indeed invited into it by some of his partisans, in hopes of drawing some considerable helps from thence; but the ambassadors of the Allobroges (Q), then at Rome, who had been also tampered with, made such an ample discovery of the whole design to their protector Q. Fab. Sanga, and he to the consuls, that it was happily prevented and disconcerted.

From hence it appears that the Gauls had lived this long time in peace and friendship with Rome, whatever feuds prevailed among them in the heart of their country: the Helvetii were the people who kindled that war which brought Cæsar over the Alps, and ended in the conquest of that brave and warlike nation. Orgetorix was the first cause of it, who, whether through want of room, or a desire to exchange his inclement country for a milder, or for some other cause not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a great number of their countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in search of new conquests. Julius Cæsar, to whose lot the whole country of Gaul had fallen, made such haste to suppress them, that he reached the Rhone in eight days, broke down the bridge of Geneva, and, in a few days more, finished the famed wall between that city and Mount Jura, now St. Claude, which extended seventeen miles in length, was sixteen feet high, fortified with towers and redoubts at proper distances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (R). Whilst he was thus employed, and waited for the necessary reinforcements, he amused the Helvetii, who had sent to demand a passage through the country of the Allobroges, till being prepared for action, he rejected their demand; a dreadful battle ensued, in which they lost one hundred and thirty thousand men, in spite of all their valour, besides a number of prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of Orgetorix, the leader of this unfortunate expedition. The rest submitted, and begged they might be permitted to settle among the Ædui, from whom they originally sprung; and,

*Cæsar's
swift en-
trance into
Gaul.*

*Orgetorix
the cause of
it.*

*Cæsar's
swift
march, and
works,*

*and success
against the
Helvetii.*

(Q) These inhabited the regions at the foot of the Alps, known now by the names of Savoy, Dauphiné, and Piedmont.

(R) If his own account of it may be relied upon (2), he did not set out till the beginning of April; and yet this stupendous work was finished by the ides or

13th of the month: so that, subtracting the eight days he was on his march, it must have been all done in about five days; a prodigious work! considering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had assisted him in raising it.

*The Gauls
begin to
court his
friendship.*

*His address
among
them.*

at the request of these last, they obtained permission to go thither (S). This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible dispatch with which Cæsar had conducted the enterprize, gained him such reputation, and, at the same time, struck the Gauls with such a panic, that they strove who should pay him the first homage and congratulations, and procure his friendship.

We formerly remarked the sad divided state in which he found them at his first coming among them, their great variety of governments, their jealousy of each other, the overgrown power of some, and the reduction of others to a state of dependence next to slavery: Cæsar, who knew best how to take advantage of these intestine broils, soon became the protector of the oppressed, a terror to the oppressor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among those who applied to him for assistance, were his allies the Ædui, against whom Ariovistus, king of the Germans, joined with the Arverni (T) in their late wars, had taken the country of the Sequani from them, and obliged them to send hostages to him. Cæsar demanded the restitution of both, and in an interview with that haughty and treacherous prince, was near falling a sacrifice to his perfidy; upon which he immediately turned his whole power against him, forced

(S) The Ædui were situate between the rivers Seine, Loire, and Saone, and were the only allies Cæsar then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promised to supply him with corn; but made so many delays, that he began to suspect their fidelity, and to find himself in great distress for want of provision. Divitiacus, one of the lords of this country, was then in his army, with Liscus, one of their magistrates: Cæsar examined them both about it separately, and the latter told him, that Dunmorix, the younger brother of Divitiacus, desirous to seize upon the supreme power, had allied himself with the Helvetii, and sent that corn to them which should have been conveyed to him. Divitiacus

confirmed what Liscus had asserted, but without naming his brother; and, when Cæsar would have punished him for his perfidy, generously interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (3).

(T) The Arverni were seated on the Loire, and were so called from their metropolis Arvernum, now Clermont, the capital of the Guiennois. They were once the most powerful people of the Gauls; their territories are said to have reached from the ocean to the Rhine on one side, and the Pyrenees on the other (4).

The Sequani were neighbours to the Ædui, and inhabited that part of Gallia Belgica called Upper Burgundy, now Franche Comté.

him (U) out of his strong entrenchments, and gave him a fatal overthrow. Ariovistus escaped, with difficulty, over the Rhine; but his two wives, and a daughter, with a great number of Germans of distinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. Cæsar, after this signal victory, put his army into winter-quarters; and went in person to the other side of the Alps, to make the necessary preparations for the next campaign°. By this time the Belgæ in general were so terrified at his success, that they entered into a confederacy against the Romans as their common enemy, of which he no sooner received intelligence, than he left Rome, and proceeded so rapidly, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival the Rhemi submitted; but the rest, appointing Galba, king of the Sueffones, general of all their forces, which amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand men, marched directly against him. Cæsar, who had seized on the bridge of the Axona, now Aisne, led his light horse and infantry over it, and whilst the Gauls were encumbered in crossing that river, made such a terrible slaughter, that the river was filled with the dead, in so much that their bodies served for a bridge to those who escaped. This new victory struck such terror into the rest, that they dispersed themselves, and the Sueffones, Bellovaci, Ambiones, with some others, submitted. The Nervii, indeed, joined with the Atrebatæ and Veromandui, against him; and, having first secured their wives and children, made a strenuous resistance for some time, but were at length defeated, and the greatest part of them slain. The rest, with their wives and old men, surrendered themselves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns as formerly. The Aduatici were next subdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (W), sold for slaves, to the number of

Ariovistus defeated.

Belgæ confederate against the Romans.

A terrible slaughter made of them by Cæsar.

The Nervii, &c. subdued.

° Comment. lib. i. cap. 1, & seq.

(U) Cæsar, who lost no advantage he could get of an enemy, had intelligence, that some German prophetesses (and such were in high esteem among them) had foretold that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a superstitious notion common among them and all the Gauls; and this it was made him so eager, and

Ariovistus so averse, to come to action before that time.

(W) These were the remains of those Cimbri whom Marius had defeated in Italy, and had been led on the banks of the Rhine to guard the baggage. They made a pretended submission to Cæsar, and surrendered their arms to him; but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell on

*Crassus's
success in
Belgium,
&c.*

*Veneti sub-
dued.*

*The Morini
and Mena-
pii ravag-
ed by Cæ-
sar, who
carries his
arms into
Germany.*

*A famine
and revolt
in Gaul.*

of fifty thousand. Young Crassus, the son of the triumvir, subdued likewise seven other nations, and took possession of their cities; exploits which not only completed the conquest of the Belgæ, but induced several nations from beyond the Rhine to submit to the conqueror. The Veneti, or ancient inhabitants of Vannes in Brittany, who had been likewise obliged to send hostages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations by sea and land to recover their liberty. Cæsar, then in Illyricum, was forced to equip a fleet on the Loire, and having given the command to Brutus, defeated them by land, as Brutus did by sea; and having put their chief men to death, sold the rest for slaves. The Unelli, with Veridorix, their chief, together with the Lexovii and Aulerici, were, about the same time, subdued by Sabinus, and the Aquitani by Crassus, with the loss of thirty thousand men. There remained nothing of Gaul but the countries of the Morini and Menapii (X) to be conquered. Cæsar marched against them, but found them so strongly entrenched in their inaccessible fortresses, that he contented himself with burning and ravaging their country; and having put his troops into winter-quarters, passed again over the Alps, to keep a more watchful eye on some of his rivals; but he was soon after obliged to defend his Gaulish conquests against some German nations, who were in motion to settle there, to the number of four hundred thousand. These he totally defeated, and then resolved to carry his conquering arms into Germany.

Upon his return into Gaul he found it labouring under a great famine, which had caused an universal revolt. Cotta and Sabinus, who were left in the country of the Eburones, now Liege, were betrayed into an ambush by Ambiorix, one of their chiefs, and most of their men were cut off. The Aduatici had fallen upon Q. Cicero, who was encamped with one legion, and had reduced him to great distress: at the same time Labienus, with his legion, was attacked by Indutiomarus, at the Rheni and Senones; but by

the Romans in the night: upon which he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves (2).

(X) These are the territories now called Ferouennes, Cleves,

Gelders, and Juliers. Those of the Aulerici and Lexovii are now the Eureux and Lisseux. As to the Unelli, their abode is differently guessed at, but without any certainty.

one bold sally he put them to flight, and killed their general. Cæsar acquired no small credit by quelling all these revolts; but each victory cost him so many lives, that he was forced to have recourse to Pompey for a fresh supply, who readily granted him two of his legions to secure his Gaulish conquests.

Cæsar forced to sue to Pompey for fresh troops.

But it was not long before these people, ever restless under a foreign yoke, revolted again, and obliged him to return. He soon reduced the Nervii, Aduatici, Menapii, and Treviri, the last of which had excited the revolt, under the command of Ambiorix; but in a little time he found the flame spread much farther, even to the greatest part of the Gauls, who had chosen the brave Vercingetorix for their generalissimo. Cæsar was forced to leave Insubria, whither he had retired to watch the motions of Pompey, and, in the midst of frost and snow, repass the Alps, into the province of Narbonne, where he assembled his scattered troops with all possible speed; and, notwithstanding the cold weather, besieged and took Noviodunum, now Noyons, defeating Vercingetorix, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the strongest in Gaul, which had a garrison of forty thousand men, of whom he made such a dreadful slaughter, that hardly eight hundred escaped. Whilst he was besieging Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, he was informed that the Nitiobriges, or Agenois, were in arms; and that the Ædui were sending a reinforcement of ten thousand men to Vercingetorix. Upon this intelligence he left Fabius to carry on the siege, and marched against the Ædui. These, upon his approach, submitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but soon after that whole nation rose up in arms, and murdered all the Italian troops in their capital. Cæsar, in this emergency, resolved to raise the siege of Gergovia, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he executed with some success; but when he thought to have marched to Noviodunum, or Noyons, where his baggage and military chest were left, he heard that the Ædui had carried it off, and burnt the place. Labienus, justly thinking that Cæsar would want his assistance, marched to join him, and in his route defeated a Gaulish general, named Camulogena, who came to oppose his march; but this event did not hinder the revolt from spreading all over Celtic Gaul, whither Vercingetorix had sent for fresh supplies, and in the mean time attacked Cæsar, but was defeated, and forced to retire to Alesia, a strong place, now Alise in Burgundy, as is supposed. Hither Cæsar hastened, and having drawn a double circumvallation

and to repass into Gaul in the depth of winter.

Makes a dreadful slaughter at Avaricum.

Ædui pretend a submission to him.

Carry off his military chest, &c.

Vercingetorix defeated.

*and sur-
renders at
discretion.*

*Cæsar's re-
solution a-
gainst the
senate.*

*His two
generals
subdue se-
veral
Gaulish na-
tions.*

*Cæsar's
activity to
the Uxello-
dunus.
Completes
the conquest
of Gaul.*

tion round the place, with a design to starve him in it, refused all offers of capitulation. At length the long-expected reinforcement arrived, consisting of one hundred and sixty thousand men, under four generals: these made several fruitless attacks on Cæsar's trenches, but were defeated in three several battles, which at length obliged Vercingetorix to surrender at discretion. Cæsar used all his prisoners with great severity, except the Ædui and Arverni, by whose means he hoped to gain over their nations, which were the two most potent of Celtic Gaul, as he actually accomplished, for both of them submitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he passed the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the most fatiguing he had ever made, so he gained more glory by it than any Roman general had done before: yet could not all this success procure him from the servile senate, now wholly devoted to his rival, a prolongation of his proconsulship.

The Gauls now resolving to have as many separate armies as provinces, in order to embarrass him the more, Cæsar, and his generals Labienus and Fabius, were forced to fight them one after another; which they did, however, with such success, that, notwithstanding the severity of the season, they subdued the Bituriges, Carnuti, Rhemi, and Bellovaci, with their general Correus; by which means they at once reduced all the Belgic provinces bordering on Celtic Gaul. The next who submitted were the Treveri, the Eburones, and the Andes, under their general Dumnacus. The last place which held out against him was Uxellodunum, which was defended by the two last acting generals of the Gauls, Drapes the Sennonian, and Luterius the Cadurcean. The place being strong, and well garrisoned, Cæsar was obliged to march thither from the farthest part of Belgic Gaul; and soon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he caused the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms to be cut off, to deter the rest from revolting again. Thus was the conquest of Gaul finished from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine, all which vast tract was now reduced to a Roman province, under the government of a prætor. The sum of all the provinces, cities, and prisoners taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and Plutarch, the reader may see in the Roman history.

Thus ended, in a great measure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, were permitted to remain free, such as the Nervii, Ubanes, Suesiones, and Leuci; others retained the title of confederates to Rome, such as the Ædui, Lingones, Rhemi,

Rhemi, and Carnutes: and the rest were reduced into the form of a Roman province. To understand precisely the difference of these three conditions, it must be observed that the first had a number of soldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (Y); the confederates were laid under tribute, and compelled to support a vast number of tax-gatherers, which, like so many leeches, sucked out the very vitals of the country (Z). But when the country was converted into a province, the inhabitants were deprived of the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magistrates, and saddled with governors from Rome, having full power and authority (*cum imperio & securibus*) over their lives and estates. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they so often revolted; for, as Tacitus himself observes, in the reign of Tiberius, the continuance of those taxes, the extortions of usurers, and insolence of the soldiers, were become so intolerable, that it drove the Gaulish cities into a fresh rebellion.

Gaul was soon after divided into sixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the note (A); each of which groaned, more or less, under the Roman tyranny, according as they were more or less favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors appointed to rule them. How-

Yr. of Fl.
2126.
Ante Chr.
22.

Gallia divided into sixteen provinces.

(Y) In which case, if these provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it seems, no great armies quartered in them: since Josephus tells us (1), that, in Titus's time, they had no more than twelve hundred soldiers in garrison in all Gaul; although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty against the Romans above eight hundred years, and had near as many cities as the Romans had then soldiers there.

(Z) We are told that, after Julius Cæsar had finished the conquest of Gaul, he laid it under a tax, or tribute, of HS. quadrigenties (2), that is, about a million of English crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in subsequent reigns, may be easily guessed by their fre-

quent revolts, and continual complaints against those extortions and oppressions.

(A) Viennensis, Narbonensis prima, Narbonensis secunda, Aquilania prima & secunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica prima & secunda, Germania prima & secunda, Lugdunensis prima, secunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ.

This division, however, was not made by Julius Cæsar, since we find it still under the three distinctions in which he left them, when Augustus caused the first census to be made in it; but was begun towards the latter end of this emperor's reign, and finished by some of his successors.

(1) Antiq. lib. ii.

(2) Eutrop. lib. vi.

ever, neither under Cæsar, whilst he lived, nor even under his successor Augustus, do we read of any considerable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a census, which is the first we find made out of Italy, they submitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when Drusus was sent thither to stop the incursions which the Germans were frequently making upon them (B), and had begun a second, and perhaps a more severe imposition; they began to express a universal inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. We have elsewhere observed how that politic general diverted them from it, by inviting all the Gaulish chiefs to assist at the consecration of the temple which the Lugdunenses had built in honour of Julius Cæsar; and, upon their coming, behaved with such address and condescension, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to Augustus, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty Gaulish nations, it seems, contributed to the rearing and adorning

(B) It is hardly to be doubted, but the Gauls, who were so much oppressed by the plundering and insolences of the Romans, and found themselves too weak now to make head against them, by some private means, either invited the Germans as friends, or hired them as auxiliaries to their assistance; and this seems to have been the beginning of the colonies of the Franks; for those Germans, whether defeated by the Romans, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to settle on the borders of Gallia. We are told, that Augustus transplanted the Suevi and Sicambri, who submitted to him, into Gallia, and assigned them lands along the Rhine (3). And of Tiberius we read, that he brought forty thousand of those that surrendered themselves in the German war, over into Gallia, and

settled them on the banks of the Rhine (4).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor Probus, in whose reign above sixty cities had revolted from the Romans, and made a bold push to regain their liberty. This prince, says he (5), marched with a great army into Gaul; which, after Posthumius's death, was all in commotion; and, when Aurelian was killed, was, in a manner, possessed by the Germans. There he gained so many victories, that he recovered from the Barbarians sixty of the most noble cities of Gallia; and whereas they had overspread all Gaul without control, he slew near four hundred thousand of those who had seated themselves within the Roman territories, and transplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers Neckar and Elbe.

(3) Sueton. in Vit. Aug. (4) Idem in Tiber. (5) Vopisc. in Vit. Prob. Notoman. Franco-Gall. cap. 3.

of this magnificent altar, which was consecrated on the first of August; and games were, at the same time, instituted, in honour of this new kind of deity P.

Notwithstanding this fulsome adulation, which might probably be owing to the presence of Drusus, they did not long suspend their favourite design of regaining their liberty, whenever fortune should present a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, seem to have exerted themselves to cherish that noble spirit, and to prevent any farther defection from their ancient religion; and hence, in all probability, arose those frequent revolts, as well as rigorous edicts, that were published against them in the succeeding reigns. However that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under Caligula, were of themselves sufficient to have spirited up a less warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their design, and under the next they either enjoyed more indulgence, or, which is as likely, were more strictly observed: but in that of Nero, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave Julius Vindex (C), at that time governor of Celtic Gaul, declared his resolution to free his country from slavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As soon as his design was known, the Gauls, harassed and reduced to beggary by intolerable imposts, flocked to him from all parts; so that, though he had no Romans under his command, yet he soon saw himself at the head of one hundred thousand armed men. When Nero heard the news of this revolt, he expressed uncommon satisfaction, as it would afford him occasion for fresh extortions and cruelties. What he seemed most affected with was, that Vindex, in some of his edicts, had stigmatized him as an unskilful harper; a reproach which stung him so severely, that, instead of making suitable preparations to op-

Encouraged by the druids.

Caligula's extortions.

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

Nero's strange behaviour.

P Vide Strab. lib. iv. Sueton. in August. Liv. &c.

(C) He was descended from the ancient kings of Aquitain, and had a natural aversion to all tyrants. Upon his first resolution of revolting, he sent to persuade Galba, then in Spain, to do the same; who neither followed his advice, nor be-

trayed his design; though some other governors, to whom he wrote on the same subject, sent his letters to Nero: but Galba, upon receiving a second letter from him, actually raised a revolt there (1).

(1) Plut. in Galb. Dio, lib. lxxiii. Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. lib. i. cap. 16.

pose the rebel by force of arms, he affected to perform in public as a musician, and appeal to the judgement of the people for the falshood of this malignant imputation. But when he was certainly informed of the progress Vindex had made in Gaul, and of Galba's revolt in Spain, he left Naples in despair, and repaired to Rome: however, a frivolous, but fortunate omen, as he imagined, having dispelled his fears, he returned again to his musical amusements, without taking one step to suppress either revolt. We need not repeat the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume: all that needs be recapitulated concerning the ill success of our Gaulish general is, that his army having been surprised by that of Rufus Virginius, who had marched against him, the Gauls were defeated, with the loss of twenty-two thousand men killed on the spot; upon which Vindex, in a fit of rage and despair, laid violent hands upon himself, and the rest dispersed for want of a leader. Galba experienced better success, and was soon after raised to the empire; but the Gauls were so heavily oppressed, and so loaded with taxes by him, that they dared not undertake any thing against his authority. In the great struggle between his two successors, Otho and Vitellius, though they heartily hated both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by Fabius Valens, who, in his march through their territories towards Italy, whither he was leading a powerful army, committed the greatest plunder and extortions. This rapacity threw the nation into such a terror, that every province and city sent ambassadors to meet him, and bribe him with large presents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (D).

They recovered themselves, however, so far, notwithstanding all these oppressions, as to make several bold pushes for liberty, especially in the reign of Vespasian. We have given an account of it in a former volume, as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to grant them, rather than exasperate them to turn their arms against him at that juncture. In Adrian's time, this province was visited by that emperor, in his progress through the empire, and as it had

(D) Amongst those that suffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of Vienne, against which that of Lyons had instigated him, as having aided the late noble Vindex in his revolt. They were therefore

forced to buy their pardon from him by an immense sum, besides a large donative, the surrender of all their arms, and furnishing his army with provisions.

been

*Vindex's
ill success,
and death.*

*Galba's
success, and
tyranny.*

*Valens ap-
plied to by
the Gauls.*

*Make
peace with
Vespasian.*

been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, wherever he passed, some tokens of his pity and munificence, and built several stately edifices, especially a sumptuous palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan's widow. He did not omit, at the same time, to repair all the Roman towns and fortresses in that country, to keep them in subjection. No considerable revolt happened during his and some of the succeeding reigns. All this while they seem to have made a remarkable figure, and borne a great sway; since, in that famous contest between Severus and his competitors, the Gauls having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in Europe, and he was universally acknowledged and received with the loudest acclamations. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at least to the Christians in this country, having raised a furious persecution against them, instigated by his favourite Plautianus, who took occasion, from a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative, to seize on the estates of all the Christians of rank and quality, and to put a great number to death, and amongst them Irenæus, the worthy bishop of Lyons. Gaul was again made the scene of war, in the remarkable contest between Gallienus and Posthumius, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the Germans, under which it had groaned for some time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor, both there and in Spain and Britain. Posthumius having been murdered by his soldiers, Lollianus was proclaimed emperor of that part of Gaul which borders upon the Rhine; whilst Victorinus, whom Posthumius had taken for his colleague, governed over the rest. Both these being soon after murdered, and the son of the latter, then an infant, being named his successor, the Gauls butchered him likewise, and set up in his room M. Aurelius Marius, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and strength: he being likewise assassinated by a soldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, P. Pivesus, or Pesusius Tetricus, a man of senatorial and consular dignity, was proclaimed throughout this province, and soon after acknowledged in Spain and Britain. Tetricus did not long enjoy his dignity, before the constant dissensions and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor Aurelian, who had restored peace in all other parts of the empire, made him wish to be fairly rid of it. There is even some reason to suspect, that he invited Aurelian into Gaul; and though he made a faint opposition against him at the battle of Chalons, yet, upon the first onset,

*Christians
in Gaul
persecuted.*

*Gaul again
made the
scene of
war.*

*Proclaim
A. Marius
emperor.*

*Aurelian
comes into
Gaul, and
reduces it.*

A new division of Gaul under Constantine.

A. D. 330.

set, he yielded himself to that emperor; so that the Gaulish troops, for want of a leader, were entirely cut off, and this province was reduced to its former obedience. In the reign of Constantine, who is supposed to have been the person who first divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceses. Gaul was made one of those dioceses, governed by a *prefectus prætorio*, whose government included Gaul, Britain, and Spain. Gaul contained seventeen provinces, six of which were styled consular, and the rest under certain presidents, who resided in the capitals of each; all of which are as follow:

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Consul or governor resided at</i>
1. Narbonensis Prima,	Narbonne, in Languedec.
2. ———— Secunda,	Aix, in Provence.
3. Viennensis,	Vienna, in Dauphiné.
4. Alpes Graia & Penninae,	Monestriers, in Savoy.
5. Alpes Maritimæ,	{ Ebrodunum, now Embrun, in Dauphiné.
6. Lugdunensis Prima,	Lugdunum, now Lyons:
7. ———— Secunda,	Roan, in Normandy.
8. ———— Tertia,	{ Caesarodunum, now Tours, in Touraine.
9. ———— Quarta,	Sens, in Champaigne.
10. Sequania,	Bezançon, in Franche Comté.
11. Aquitania Prima,	Bourges, in Berry.
12. ———— Secunda,	Bordeaux, in Guienne.
13. Novempopulania,	{ Auscorum, now Aux, capital of Gascony.
14. Germanica Prima,	Moguntia, now Mentz.
15. ———— Secunda,	Colonia, now Cologn.
16. Belgica Prima,	Civitas Trevirorum, now Trier.
17. ———— Secunda,	—Durocortorum, now Rheims.

Besides the governors of the above provinces, the same emperor appointed comites, or counts, in the cities, and duces in the frontier towns, to administer justice according to the Roman laws. This was the state and government of Gaul, when the Goths gained a footing in the southern part, which was then called Narbonensis; it having been granted to them by the emperor Honorius, upon their quitting Italy. Some services they did afterwards to the empire, obtained for them a fresh settlement in Aquitania. After them came the Burgundi, a great and warlike people, seated on the other side of the Rhine (they had been called in

by

by Stilicho, to defend the Gaulish borders from the Franks, who were on their march to invade it on that side), and seized on all the south-east part of it, which was from them called Upper and Lower Burgundy. This settlement did not, however, hinder the Franks, a fierce and warlike nation of Germany, from invading and occupying that part of Gaul which lies between the Rhine and the Weser, and extending themselves from the river Mayne, on the south, quite to the German ocean, on the north. These were a compound of various nations, such as Sicambri, Bructeri, Salici, Cherusci, and some others of less note. We shall have occasion to dwell more on their origin, names, character, conquests, and history, in a subsequent chapter. All that we shall add here, is, that they assisted some of the maritime Gaulish provinces, especially those of Brittany, Normandy, Flanders, and Picardy, to shake off the Roman yoke; by which means they possessed themselves also of the Germania Prima and Secunda, and of the two Belgix above mentioned. In the sequel, they chose Pharamond for their king, who was the founder of the French monarchy, and in whose reign the Romans drove the Franks out of Gaul. His successor Clodion endeavoured to regain it, but was defeated in the attempt; and it was under Meroveus, who caused himself to be chosen king in his stead, that the Huns poured in their numerous hosts into Gaul; of which expedition we shall speak in its proper place. As for the reigns of Pharamond, and his successors, they fall within the province of Modern History.

A. D. 412.

The maritime provinces shake off the Roman yoke.

